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VOL. XI.

THE SPANISH WAR

1585–1587

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3 Admirals
for the Bonaventer.
for the Lion
for the marchant Rial
St Lucas
St Maries
portalago
St mary port
Rota
Checpiona
Port Rial
Bridge
porkes
St Sebastions
pontal
A. the first fort in Caels.
B. the second fort.
C. the townd gate, ordinance on it.
d. the plaid w^ch the gallies read, at our coming in
e. the smal Shipping, caruayls and barkes.
F. Aragoze, Biskayns, frensh ships, and Sulkes
G. Roders at pointal
h. the Marques of St^a Cruses Ship.
I. Ships and gallies by port rial
1 a. the Bonaventer
b. the Lion
c. the marchant Rial
} at ther first Ankoring.
A. the rest of the fleet.
2 d. the Bonaventer at her second Ankoring
3 e. the Bonaventer at her third Ankoring
f. the Lion at second Ankoring
g. the rest of the fleet at second Ankoring
h. the Edmond Bonaventer a grounded.
i. the Lyon at third Ankoring
k. the gallies to have Stoyd the Lions passing that way
l. the gallies at Ankor when they weare drowen back
DK. our fleet at Ankor vppon a Bramada
a. a peece of ordmaunce paced vppon the chiefe S^t shot at the Lion
b. a smal peece of ordmaunce placed amongst the sands with which w^ch they shot at the ships

PLAN OF THE OPERATIONS AT CADIZ 1587.

942.055.55

PAPERS RELATING TO THE NAVY

DURING

The Spanish War

1585—1587

EDITED BY

JULIAN S. CORBETT, LL.M.

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INTRODUCTION

THE documents collected in the present volume fall into three groups—i. Papers relating to Drake's 'Indies Voyage,' 1585-6; ii. Papers relating to his 'Cadiz Voyage,' 1587; iii. Miscellaneous Papers, relating to the mobilisation and general administration of the navy at the outbreak of the war.

To apply the title of the 'Spanish War' to the collection is to some extent a misnomer. War had not been declared, and in the eyes of publicists a state of war did not exist between the two countries. In those days the doctrine of general reprisal as a form of hostility falling short of war was carried very much further than it could be now. Under Elizabeth it reached its furthest point. Until her time it was a generally recognised rule that reprisals must be confined to the high seas, and between such operations and operations against an adversary's territory the line seems to have been drawn which divided general reprisal from actual war. The status of colonies under this doctrine was not yet fixed; whether they were territory or not was undecided. Philip, in his anxiety to exclude foreign competition and heresy from his colonial possessions, took up the position that they did not fall within the commercial

treaties between England and his House which had never been abrogated, and that he was entitled to forbid the English trading with them. As a corollary of this position it followed that they were not territory of the House of Burgundy. Consequently Elizabeth appears—not without considerable plausibility—to have regarded them as the legitimate subjects of general reprisal, and in this doctrine Philip, being too weak at sea to dispute it, was compelled for a time to acquiesce. In judging her and Drake for their piratical expeditions, as they are generally called without any regard to contemporary international law, this aspect of the situation must never be lost sight of. If the Spanish colonies were Spanish territory, then Philip, by the comity of nations, if not by actually subsisting treaties, had no right to exclude the subjects of a friendly power from trading with them. If they were not Spanish territory, then they were the legitimate subjects of general reprisal.

I. The Indies Voyage.—Ever since Philip's conquest of Portugal in 1580 had placed Spain in the position of a first-rate naval power Drake, backed by Leicester, Walsyngham, and Hawkyns, had been endeavouring to get permission to check the further development of the Spanish power by an attack on her oceanic trade and colonies, either openly or covertly under the flag of Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender. Without definite assurance of French co-operation, however, the Queen would not consent, and Drake was kept inactive. The relations between the two countries, which his raid into the South Sea had for a time threatened

with open rupture, had greatly improved, at least in outward appearance; and in 1585, under special promises of immunity from molestation on religious or other grounds, Philip had invited to his ports a fleet of English corn ships, in order to supply the deficiency of his own harvests. No sooner, however, had the English ships arrived than an embargo was laid upon them, and their crews arrested. One ship, the famous Primrose, of London, managed to escape. While lying off Bilbao quietly discharging her cargo she had been visited by the Corregidor of Biscay and his guard disguised as merchants. Suddenly called upon to surrender, the crew flung themselves upon the Spaniards, drove them all overboard, and made sail. Some of the discomfited Spaniards, as the shore boats fled, were seen clinging to the English vessel. These were humanely rescued and carried in triumph back to England, and among them was the Corregidor himself. Upon him were found his official instructions, setting forth expressly that the embargo was ordered for the purposes of the expedition which Philip was preparing against the English. This was enough both for the Queen and the powerful public opinion of commercial circles in London, which had obstinately clung to pacific relations with Spain. A retaliatory embargo was proclaimed, letters of general reprisal were issued, and Drake was let loose.

The expedition was extraordinarily popular, and Drake, with his experience of the Queen's capacity for sudden changes of front, lost no time in pressing forward his arrangements on the flow of the tide. London, it was said, offered to fit out seven score

sail, and by the middle of July the town flocked down to Woolwich to see the contingent of the capital start 'with great jolity' to join Drake's flag at Plymouth.[1] Most of the principal ports followed the example of London, and from the Queen, Court, and private persons money was subscribed in abundance. For the expedition was to be on the usual lines, and to be carried out by a fleet of merchantmen stiffened by some ships from the Royal Navy and financed by a Joint Stock Company. By August Drake had gathered round him a fleet of twenty-five sail, amongst which were the Elizabeth Bonaventure, 600 tons, and the Aid, 250 tons, of her Majesty's. The rest were all private ships. Largest of them was the Galleon Leicester, of 400 tons, which had been Fenton's flagship in 1582. The London contingent included several of the finest vessels in the subsidised mercantile marine, with the redoubtable Primrose at their head. The rest were mainly West-Country vessels. In all, the ships numbered twenty-one and the pinnaces four.[2] Drake's flag was hoisted on the Bonaventure, and around him was gathered as brilliant an assembly of officers, whether from family connections or services, as a commander could desire. His own flag-captain was Thomas Fenner, one of the most daring and experienced officers of his time. His Vice-Admiral

[1] *Hist. MSS. Com. Rep.* XII. iv. 176, 177.

[2] A French salt-bark of 40 tons, which was taken possession of off Finisterre, was afterwards added to the fleet under the name of the Drake, raising the whole force to twenty-six sail. Biggs gives the total at twenty-five, but he omits the bark Hawkyns, which was certainly attached to the fleet. The Primrose log says they sailed from Plymouth with twenty-nine ships and pinnaces. Some private adventurers probably joined company.

was Martin Frobiser, who honoured the little Primrose with his flag.[1] Francis Knollys, the Queen's cousin and Leicester's brother-in-law, was Rear-Admiral in the Galleon Leicester. Captain Edward Wynter, son of Sir William, commanded the Aid, and Christopher Carleill was Lieutenant-General commanding the land forces and the Tiger.[2] Thomas Drake, the Admiral's youngest brother, had Sir Francis's ship the Thomas Drake. Tom Moone, one of the oldest and most devoted followers of his corsair days, had another, the Francis. Amongst others whom he had trained in his voyage round the world were Captain George Fortescue in the bark Bonner, Captain John Martyn in the bark Benjamin, Edward Careless, also called Wright, whom Hakluyt calls the excellent mathematician and engineer, in the Hope of 200 tons, and Richard Hawkyns with his first command as captain of the galleot Duck. Under Carleill was a regular military force with Captain Anthony Powell as 'Ser-

[1] It seems to have been a customary privilege allowed to London merchants when serving as partners with the Queen for the commodore of their contingent to hold flag-rank. Frobiser on this occasion seems not to have been the Queen's officer, but the nominee of the London merchants, who had been his early supporters.

[2] This was probably not the Queen's ship Tiger, 200 tons, but the London vessel of the same name and tonnage which served against the Armada. The Queen's Tiger was at this time apparently unfit for service. In this or the following year she seems to have been replaced by the Sea Dragon of Sir William Wynter's (see *post*, p. 249). However, Carleill's ship may possibly have been the Queen's old Tiger sold out of the service. A Sea Dragon formed part of the fleet when it sailed, which may have been Sir William Wynter's vessel. If this was so it is curious that the New Tiger appears in Hawkyns's list of available vessels, which omits the Aid and Bonaventure (see *post*, p. 271).

geant-Major' or chief of the Lieutenant-General's staff, and two 'Corporals of the Field' or aides-de-camp. The whole force, including soldiers and sailors, numbered 2,300 men.

The details of the sea force were as follows :

Ships	Tons	Commanders
Eliz. Bonaventure .	600	Admiral and General, Sir F. Drake Flag-Capt., Thomas Fenner
Primrose . .	200	Vice-Admiral, Martin Frobiser
Galleon Leicester .	400	Rear-Admiral, Francis Knollys
Aid . . .	250	Captain, Ed. Wynter
Tiger . . .	200	Lieut.-General, Christopher Carleill
Sea Dragon . .	—	Captain, Henry Whyte [1]
Thomas . . .	200	,, Thomas Drake
Minion . . .	200	,, Thomas Cely [2]
Bark Talbot . .	200	,, Baily
Bark Bond . .	150	,, Robert Crosse [3]
Bark Bonner . .	150	,, George Fortescue
Hope . . .	—	,, Edward Careless
White Lion . .	140	,, James Erizo [4]
Francis . . .	—	,, Thomas Moone
Vantage . . .	—	,, John Rivers
Drake . . .	—	,, John Vaughan [5]
George . . .	—	,, John Varney
Benjamin . .	—	,, John Martyn
Scout . . .	—	,, Edward Gilman
Galleot Duck . .	—	,, Rich. Hawkyns
Swallow . . .	—	,, Bitfield

The land force probably consisted of ten companies. Carleill, as Lieutenant-General, according to the military organisation of the time, would have, besides his staff rank and ship, command of his own company. So also would the Sergeant-

[1] Probably the author of the Armada despatch given in *Defeat of the Armada*, ii. 63.

[2] See *ibid.* i. 262 *et passim.*

[3] See *post*, p. 47 *n.*, and *ibid. passim.*

[4] See *post*, p. 47 *n.*, and *ibid.* ii. 340.

[5] *Ibid.* ii. 104.

Major, each with his captain-lieutenant as his deputy. The two Corporals-of-the-field would have no company command. Besides these, ten other captains are mentioned, one of whom, Edward Wynter, also commanded a ship. Their names were as follows: Anthony Platt, Edward Wynter, John Goring, Robert Pew, George Barton, John Marchant, William Cecil, Walter Biggs, John Hannam, and Richard Stanton; of these probably only eight commanded companies. Walter Biggs was captain-lieutenant of Carleill's company, and the Sergeant-Major's captain-lieutenant must also be included in the list. Platt and Marchant became staunch adherents of Drake, the latter being Sergeant-Major to the Cadiz expedition in 1587, and both perished in the expedition of 1595. William Cecil was perhaps Burghley's grandson and the heir of his house.

Drake's orders were to proceed to the ports where the English ships were detained, and to procure their release. What further instructions he had is not known. Even what his intentions were has hitherto been very doubtful, but the document printed at p. 69 makes them quite clear. From internal evidence it would appear that as all kinds of contradictory rumours of his proceedings in the West Indies began to reach Europe, the Government, having received no despatches for many months, began to get anxious about the expedition, and obtained from some one in Drake's confidence exact details of the way in which he intended to conduct the campaign, with particulars of the time he expected his contemplated operations would

take. It finally removes the long-prevailing impression that his expedition was a haphazard raid. On the contrary, we can now see it as a thoroughly well conceived, if ambitious, design to destroy the sources of Spanish transatlantic commerce and ruin her colonial empire. The three great centres—San Domingo, Cartagena, and Panama—were each to be taken in turn ; while Havana, the rendezvous of all the homeward-bound fleets and the key of the whole system, was, if possible, to be permanently occupied, whereby Mexico would be blockaded as completely as Peru, the Central Provinces, and the Spanish Main.

The narrative with which the volume opens sufficiently explains the progress of the expedition. From internal evidence we know it was by an officer on board Frobiser's flag-ship the Primrose. Several indications point to his being a soldier, and not a sailor, but nothing further is ascertainable about his identity. Hitherto the only complete account generally known has been that published by Hakluyt, which should also be consulted, especially for the reasons which finally induced Drake to evacuate Cartagena, instead of permanently establishing himself there when he found it impossible to proceed with his original plan of campaign.

It is entitled 'A summary and true discourse of Sir Francis Drake's West Indian Voyage,' and was begun by Captain Walter Biggs, captain-lieutenant of the lieutenant-general's company, and carried on by his lieutenant Cripps. For publication it was finally entrusted to Thomas Cates, of the same company. Several editions of it in various

languages are in the British Museum (besides Hakluyt's reprint), and those which are complete contain a map and four highly interesting and well-executed military plans of the principal operations.

The despatches, unfortunately, are very few after Drake left the Spanish coast. To supplement this want all obtainable letters of intelligence have been included in the present volume. Many of them contain erroneous and exaggerated accounts of what was effected; but they are nevertheless valuable as helping us to understand the extraordinary impression the expedition made in Europe at a moment when a universal Spanish domination seemed inevitable. Further matter of the same character will be found in the Calendars of the Venetian and Spanish historical papers.

When Drake returned at the end of July 1586, and the real extent of his depredations became known, war was regarded as certain. The navy was partially mobilised for the defence of the Narrow Seas, and papers relating to this mobilisation and to the reforms that were introduced in view of the expected struggle will be found in Part III. of this collection. But war did not come. Philip was not yet prepared. It was not till six months after Drake had appeared off Bayona that Santa Cruz had been able to mobilise a flying squadron to pursue him. So when Elizabeth protested that Drake had exceeded his instructions, Philip accepted the excuse, and acquiesced in the contention that as the English fleet had acted without official orders all it had done was in the nature of general reprisal, and therefore not a *casus belli*.

Peace ostensibly still reigned, and Drake, who had come home in confident hope of obtaining reinforcements to complete the work which his losses had compelled him to leave for another campaign, was not allowed to sail. Still, with a view, apparently, of impressing Philip with the desirability of a peaceful understanding with England, he was permitted to take up again his old scheme for acting under Don Antonio's flag, and for this purpose to open negotiations perhaps with the Porte, certainly with the Dutch. By the first week in October 1586 things had gone so far that he was allowed to proceed to the Netherlands in person to conduct the negotiations. It was Sir Walter Ralegh, apparently, who induced the Queen to consent to this. 'With much ado,' he wrote on October 8[1] to Leicester, who at this time was directing affairs in the Netherlands, 'I procured (?) her Majesty's leave for Sir Francis to visit your Excellency. . . . Sir Francis is in good hope to return to the Indies. If it may be brought to pass I doubt not all shall be recupered. I hope your Excellency will assist all you may.' It was probably in furtherance of this mission that the Dutch and Latin translations of the 'Summary Discourse' were made. But by this time the Dutch thoroughly distrusted both Leicester and his mistress, and officially Drake's mission was a failure. Still, his reception personally was most brilliant, and he was authorised to treat with various cities privately.

[1] *Tanner MSS.* 79. The letter bears no year. Edwards, in his *Life of Ralegh* (vol. ii. p. 35), inserts 1587, but clearly it should be 1586.

Much help was promised, and so soon as Drake returned he applied for a licence to sail. It was not granted. The question of Mary Stuart's fate, whose death warrant was settled the day Drake returned, absorbed the whole attention of the Government. No one could tell what would be the result of her execution, and the whole naval force of the kingdom had to be kept at home.

II. The Cadiz Voyage.—It was not till the salutary effect of Mary's execution on the national position began to declare itself, and the fear of Guise hostilities died away, that fresh operations against Spain were taken into consideration. Through privateer captures and Government agents abroad information of the continuous and formidable preparations in Spain for the 'Enterprise of England' poured in incessantly. A number of these reports are included in the present volume, and are of interest as showing the nature and extent of the intelligence on which Elizabeth's admirals had to form their plans of operation. So serious at length and so unmistakable was the prospect which their reports disclosed that once more Elizabeth was induced to set Drake free.

At what time precisely the great resolution was taken is not clear. On December 25 it had been decided that the whole fleet must be mobilised at Portsmouth by March 20 in order 'to impeach the provisions of Spain' (p. 55), and at the same time it was determined to send an Admiralty officer over to Holland to assist Leicester to organise a fleet from the Low Countries for the same date. Till the last moment the part Drake was to play was kept a

profound secret. It was not till the first week in March that reports began to spread that he was going to sea again, as it became known that he was down at Plymouth busy with the manning and victualling of a squadron that had been placed under his orders.[1] It consisted of four ships and two pinnaces of the Queen's, the Lord Admiral's galleon the White Lion, and his pinnace the Cygnet,[2] four fine vessels of the Levant Company and some other Londoners whose trade was practically stopped by the unsettled state of affairs. Drake had further commission to take up any ships he might meet at sea and add them to his squadron, and thus by the end of the month he had ready at Plymouth a squadron of twenty-three sail. For his flag-ship the Elizabeth Bonaventure was again assigned. For Vice-Admiral was attached to him, in the Golden Lion, William Borough, Clerk of the Ships, who next to Drake and Hawkyns was the great English authority on all naval matters and a regular Queen's officer of the old school. Though Drake's old friend and flag-captain, Thomas Fenner, was with him in command of the Dreadnought of her Majesty's, the third flag-ship seems to have been the Merchant Royal, admiral of the London squadron, whose commander was Captain Robert Flick, a

[1] It was not known generally in London on the 4th–14th of March. See 'Sclatter to Darell' (Hubert Hall, *Society in the Elizabethan Age*, p. 266). 'Some say that Sir Francis Drake goeth to the seas with an army of 30,000 men.'

[2] In the accounts Howard is credited with 175 tons. The White Lion was 150, and the Cygnet the only pinnace of 25 tons. Sometimes the Cygnet appears as a Royal ship, but the Lord Admiral's ships frequently appear in navy lists.

favourite London officer.[1] The fourth navy ship was the new Rainbow, the very latest experiment of English naval architecture, having been launched only a few months and built on the lines of a galleasse.[2] She was commanded by Captain Henry Bellingham, an officer who was thought worthy of a squadron in the following year. To these were attached the two Queen's pinnaces the Spy and the Makeshift.[3] The Levant ships, having been built specially for trade in seas where enemies of all kinds swarmed, were probably little inferior to the Queen's ships of their size; as indeed some of them proved themselves in the famous action off Gibraltar in 1590, when the London ships repeated their feat of 1586, and after a six hours' fight drove off twelve Spanish galleys.[4] The other Londoners would fall

[1] He was a member of the Drapers' Company, and one of the merchant adventurers (see 'List of Adventurers who became sureties, &c.,' in *Cam. Soc. Misc.* v. 27). Of his previous services nothing appears to be known; but he afterwards commanded the London squadron that was sent to the relief of Lord Thomas Howard, at the Azores, in 1591, when the Revenge was lost. Borough always spoke of the Merchant Royal as the third flag-ship (*ibid.* v. 14). Leng (in *Hakluyt*) says the rear-admiral was the Dreadnought, but, like Biggs, he seems to have been a soldier, and his authority is not so high as Borough's. Here, then, we almost certainly have another instance of the commodore of the London squadron taking flag-rank in the fleet.

[2] Her dimensions were: Tons, 384; length, 100 feet; beam, 32 feet; depth, 12 feet.

[3] *S.P. Dom.* ccv. 55. In the Armada lists the Makeshift appears as a private vessel in Drake's division. The Cygnet, which in 1587 appears as a private vessel, in 1588 appears in the navy lists.

[4] See 'The Valiant Fight, &c.,' in *Hakluyt*, April 24, 1590. Of the present squadron three at least were engaged—the Solomon, the Margaret and John, and the Minion. The French *Rellacion* speaks of the Merchant Royal as of the same class as the Queen's ships, and also says there were besides

little short of them. Drake himself had fitted out four other vessels and the remainder were West-Country craft, whose value he had proved again and again.

The details of the fleet as then formed are as follows:

The Queen—four ships: Eliz. Bonaventure, 550 tons, Sir Francis Drake; Golden Lion, 550 tons, Wm. Borough, Vice-Admiral; Dreadnought, 400 tons, Thos. Fenner; Rainbow, 500 tons, Henry Bellingham; and two pinnaces: Spy, 50 tons, Capt. Clifford; Makeshift, 50 tons, Captain Bostocke.[1]

The Lord Admiral—one ship: White Lion, 150 tons; and one pinnace: the Cygnet, 25 tons.

The Levant Company's Squadron—seven ships: Merchant Royal, 400 tons, Capt. Flick, rear-admiral; Susan, 350 tons; Edward Bonaventure, 300 tons; Margaret and John, 210 tons; Solomon, 200 tons; George Bonaventure, 150 tons; Thomas Bonaventure, 150 tons.

Drake's Squadron—four ships and barks: Minion, 200 tons; Thomas, 200 tons; bark Hawkyns, 130 tons; Elizabeth, 70 tons.

Other vessels—one ship: The Little John, 100 tons; and three pinnaces: the Drake, 80 tons; Speedwell, 50 tons; Post, 30 tons.

Total: ships, 16; pinnaces, 7.

The four vessels of Drake's squadron I attribute to him, since they appear at the end of Fenner's

'Deux gallions fort bien faictz pour la guerre du port de 200 tonneaulx,' but the report is too inaccurate to deserve much weight. See *post*, p. 116.

[1] Probably Capt. John Bostocke, who commanded the Tiger in 1588, and the Hope in 1590.

official list and amount together to the 300 tons for which he was credited in the accounts. The Minion, however, seems to have been a London ship, for a vessel of that name was in the action with the galleys in 1590, but he and his friends may have chartered her.

With this force his instructions were, in view of the menacing intelligence from Spain, 'to prevent or withstand any enterprise as might be attempted against her Highnesses dominions,' and especially by preventing the concentration of the various squadrons Philip was preparing. As to how he was to do this he was left an entirely free hand, if at least we may believe his Vice-Admiral. Off Cape St. Vincent Borough professed to recite the Queen's instructions, as follows: 'For that by information the King of Spain is preparing a great army by sea, part at Lisbon, other in Andalucia, and within the Straits, all which was judged should meet at Lisbon and the same come for England or some part of her Majesty's dominions; her Majesty's pleasure is by advice of her Highness's Council that you with these ships now under your charge should come hither to this Cape, and up this coast and seek by all the best means you can to impeach their purpose and stop their meeting at Lisbon if it might be; whereof the manner how is referred to your discretion.' Walsyngham, in writing to Sir Edward Stafford, the English ambassador at Paris, gives some additional details. 'His commission is,' he says, 'to impeach the joining together of the King of Spain's fleets out of their several ports, to keep victuals from them, to follow them in case they

should be come forward towards England or Ireland and to cut off as many of them as he could and impeach their landing; as also to set upon such as should either come out of the West or East Indies into Spain or go out of Spain thither,' and finally he adds he was 'particularly directed to distress the ships within the havens themselves.'

No instructions could have been more satisfactory. Indeed they are those which he tried so hard the following year to get sanctioned, showing how he had grasped already the great secret of naval strategy. As usual, however, he had hardly hoisted his flag before more timid counsels prevailed. Elizabeth seems to have been brought to believe that by a reported relaxation in his preparations Philip was evincing a desire for peace, and that an understanding might yet be come to if he were not provoked too far. Formal orders were therefore sent down from the Council greatly restricting Drake's former freedom of action, and these from what followed are of deep importance. 'You shall forbear,' they ran, 'to enter forcibly into any of the said King's ports or havens, or to offer any violence to any of his towns or shipping within harbouring, or to do any act of hostility upon the land;' but short of this he was to do his best to capture and bring home '(avoiding as much as may be the shedding of Christian blood) such shipping of the said King or his subjects as you shall find at sea either going from thence to the East or West Indies, or returning from the said Indies into Spain.' The obvious intention of these orders was to reduce the operations to the level of general reprisal, and they

undoubtedly represent a reviving influence of the Spanish and peace elements in the Council. Leicester was away again in the Netherlands, nearly all Drake's friends were under a cloud for the execution of Mary, and Walsyngham single-handed had been unable to stem the tide of Spanish influence.

But Drake knew what to expect. He had reached Plymouth on March 23. Since then he had worked so desperately that in a week all was ready, and this in spite of every kind of difficulty which, as he believed, his enemies had thrown in his way. At the last moment numbers of his seamen had deserted, 'and we all think,' wrote Drake to Walsyngham, smelling treason at every obstacle, 'by some practice of some adversaries to the action by letters written.' Nothing daunted, with lavish bounties and untiring energy, he replaced them with soldiers, writing to the Lord Admiral to demand the punishment of the deserters. All was now ready except for the Levant ships, which, delayed by contrary winds, had not been able to make Plymouth. On April 1, however, they succeeded in joining him, and then, without permitting a day's delay to risk a change in his orders, he put to sea the next morning. So it was that when the Council's messenger reached Plymouth with the unwelcome orders the Sound was empty. Drake had flown. The despatch was at once sent after him in a pinnace. The messenger, it is said, was a 'base son' of Hawkyns, and the pinnace Wynter's, and this, perhaps, is why the gales it encountered were found of such a nature as to compel its return with

the new orders undelivered, and a fat prize in company.

Thus had Drake gone on his way with full authority to take a vigorous offensive in Spanish waters. The special direction to destroy shipping in the ports was even wide enough to cover the seizure of the defences that protected them. It is true that Borough afterwards declared that the Lord Admiral had particularly warned Drake he was not to land, but the amended instructions in expressly directing him not to do so are at least strong evidence that Howard's prohibition cannot have been official, nor is it likely that if Drake had been debarred from shore operations he would have carried with him a regularly organised land force, as he certainly did. It consisted of ten, or perhaps eight, companies under Captain Anthony Platt as Lieutenant-General, with Captain John Marchant as his 'Sergeant-Major.' The names of the other eight captains, including, possibly, Platt's and Marchant's captain-lieutenants, were Crosse, Parker, Thomas and Edward Fenner, Poole, Spindelowe, Sydenham, and Manington. Each had a lieutenant, an ensign, two sergeants, and four corporals. The other staff officers were Philip Nicholls, chaplain; John Harges, standard-bearer; William Stallenge, muster-master; and John Flower, clerk of the cheque.

The despatches and other papers, in the case of this voyage, will be found very full, affording a continuous and detailed account of all the operations with the exception of the capture of the great carrack. A full narrative of the expedition was

written by one Robert Leng, and included by Hakluyt in his collection. Another shorter account was printed for the Camden Society in a small collection of papers relating to this voyage published in the fifth volume of their 'Miscellany.' Neither of them, however, do justice to the naval operations or show the real significance of Drake's movements as the despatches disclose them. From these it is clear that Drake did not attach so great an importance to his exploit in Cadiz harbour as has since been attributed to it. For him the seizure of the St. Vincent station was of far greater consequence. In Cadiz he had but singed the King of Spain's beard, as he said. By retaining the St. Vincent station, which he hoped to be able to do with fresh supplies and reinforcements from home, he saw clearly he could paralyse the mobilisation of the Armada, and prevent its ever putting to sea. Of this the despatches leave no doubt. Brilliant as was his dash on Cadiz, the living interest of the campaign lies in the subsequent movements by which he sought to effect his purpose. It is only from the Spanish authorities, published by Captain Duro in his 'Armada Invencible' and his 'Armada Española,' that we can measure the sagacity and success of his operations. As the first example of true naval strategy in the modern sense, no less than as affording a conspicuous instance of how the mobilisation of a vastly superior naval force can be dislocated by a small well-handled fleet, the second part of the campaign is still worthy of detailed study.

In Cadiz harbour Drake had gained complete

information of the point to which the preparations of the Armada had reached. The situation into which he had broken was this. At Lisbon, as the point of concentration, the Marquis de Santa Cruz had established his headquarters, and here he was busy accumulating victuals and stores, and superintending the fitting out of the Portuguese galleons which Philip had acquired by his late conquest, and which, as the backbone of the fleet, were to form the Commander-in-Chief's own squadron. Here too was the Medici galleon sent by the Grand Duke of Tuscany, as a symbol of his adherence to his kinsman's great design, and a few vessels of lesser degree; but as yet neither seamen nor soldiers had been mustered to man them. In the north at Passages, Oquendo, an officer who had highly distinguished himself at Santa Cruz's victory over the French under Strozzi, off St. Michael's, in 1582 and elsewhere, and had been appointed Captain-General of the Armada of Guipuscoa, was organising a squadron from the fine sea-going craft of that province, and besides a large vessel of his own he had six ships and four pinnaces nearly ready for sea. Cruising somewhere about Cape St. Vincent was Recalde, a veteran of long and varied service, who, as the finest seaman after Santa Cruz in Spain, was destined for Vice-Admiral of the Armada. He was now in command of a similar squadron, consisting of a great-ship of his own with six or seven other Biscayan ships and five pinnaces. He was probably, according to the usual practice, cruising to cover the arrival of the homeward-bound American fleets, but an urgent order was immediately sent to him

from the India Office at Seville to take his squadron into Lisbon. At Cadiz, where the ships of the Andalucian province had been concentrated, there were fifteen fine vessels which had escaped Drake's attack. At Cartagena, within the Straits, were six great Levanters from Sicily, whence they had brought Don Diego Pimentel and his famous Sicilian tertia of infantry for service in the Enterprise and a large supply of guns for the armament of the fleet. At the same port were almost daily expected from Naples four of the world-renowned Italian galleasses and two more Levanters, with more guns and the Neapolitan tertia. At Cadiz or St. Lucar was a squadron of about a score of barks and pinnaces and thirty *urcas* or hulks for victuallers, and besides these a number of vessels, of which Drake had destroyed four, were preparing to leave with the New Spain convoy. The remainder that had survived the English attack Philip now ordered to be requisitioned for the Armada. The galleons of the Indian Guard were apparently as usual on the Azores station awaiting the homeward-bound convoys. These, though of course a most important item in Philip's available naval strength, it was not as yet intended to place at Santa Cruz's disposal.[1]

[1] The above details are mainly from the papers collected by Duro in his *Armada Invencible*. A paper purporting to be a copy of Santa Cruz's official report to the King in June which the Venetian ambassador sent home gives them as follows (*Venet. Cal.* viii. 286):

Lisbon.—13 galleons of Portugal, 2 great-ships, 8 other vessels, 1 galleon of the Duke of Florence, 1 small galley, and Recalde's Biscayans.

Gibraltar.—6 ships from Sicily, 4 great galleys.

The injury, therefore, which Drake had done in Cadiz to the actual force of the Armada was small. It remained for him to prevent the concentration at Lisbon, which was on the point of being made, and to endeavour to capture the homeward-bound American fleets. What at the moment his intention was we do not know. His course as he disappeared from Cadiz was due west. The Spaniards at once concluded he was bound for the Azores with the intention of intercepting the home-coming convoys. On their safe arrival Spanish credit hung, and in a fever of anxiety Philip ordered Santa Cruz to put to sea immediately to save them. He replied he had no men, and could not move. The soldiers he had expected had been diverted to the defence of Cadiz; the sailors he looked for to complete his crews had been on the ships that Drake had destroyed; and all Philip could do was to hurry off orders to Cartagena for the Sicilian tertia to disembark and proceed across Spain by forced marches to Lisbon. A few days later he heard Drake had reappeared on the coast to the north of Cape St. Vincent. His fear now was for the Levanters, and alarmed lest they had proceeded without their troops to Lisbon, he directed them to be intercepted at Cadiz till further orders.

What had happened seems to have been this. Shortly after leaving Cadiz, Drake intercepted at sea the orders which had been sent to Recalde directing him at once to retire into Lisbon, and thus

Cartagena.—2 ships from Naples.
Biscay.—15 galleons.
The last item is certainly a mistake. The Biscay vessels were not galleons.

ascertained the Spanish admiral's whereabouts. Whatever were Drake's original intentions, he at once resolved to make a dash to capture the isolated squadron. Nothing could have been sounder. At one blow he would severely cripple the Armada and dislocate the protective system of the Indies trade, making the capture of some rich prizes almost certain. Unfortunately calms and contrary winds prevented the rapid movement that was essential to success. When Drake reached Recalde's station he was gone. As high as fifteen leagues north of the Cape he sought him, but the wary old seaman was nowhere to be found. He had succeeded in retiring his squadron into Lisbon untouched.

Having thus failed to catch Recalde, he immediately turned his attention to establishing himself at a point from which he could prevent any further concentration, and to interrupt all coastwise communication between the headquarters at Lisbon and the Andalucian and Mediterranean ports. For this purpose he resolved to return and seize Cape St. Vincent. In vain his cautious Vice-Admiral protested. Drake's reply was to dismiss him from his command and place him under arrest. He then landed, and having destroyed all the batteries which commanded the anchorage and watering places, was able to interpose his fleet between the two main divisions of the Armada. Thus secured he at once began to operate from his new base. His first move was to destroy the Algarve tunny fisheries on which, since the destruction of the Spanish Newfoundland fleet by Bernard Drake, the Armada mainly depended for its supply of salt

fish. His next was to appear before Lisbon; but what his object was beyond a reconnaissance perhaps he himself hardly knew. There can be small doubt that it was on this occasion that he obtained the intimate knowledge of the channels and defences of the port on which the following year he grounded his refusal to attack it with the small force placed at his command. Lisbon at this time was probably the most powerfully defended sea-port in the world, and with its magnificent harbour admirably adapted for the headquarters of a great fleet. In the elaborate apology for his conduct of the Armada campaign, which Drake procured to be written by Petruccio Ubaldino, the Florentine historian,[1] we are given a detailed account of the place as it then was. Outside the bar to the north was an anchorage commanded by Cascaes Castle, which was situated on the western point of the Bay. Some seven miles to the eastward, and immediately opposite the northern end of the bar, lay the powerful fort known as St. Julian's. This was the most serious obstacle, for immediately beneath its guns passed the North or Main Channel, which in itself was so difficult that ships usually took special pilots for each section of it. The only way of avoiding this formidable work was to pass in by the channel at the opposite or southern end of the bar, but this, again, was even more dangerous than the other. Sectional pilots were here compulsory, and it was further defended by an old fort known as the Torre Veijo. The bar being passed by one of these two tortuous channels, the actual entrance to the river is

[1] Brit. Museum, *Regia MSS.* 14, A. xi.

reached, and here, in the midst of the fair-way lay a rocky island which was occupied by the Fortaléza de Bethlehem, known to the English as Belem. Beyond this, again, where the river opened out into the port were the batteries of the city itself; and, besides all these dangers and the guns of the ships already assembled, there was the regular squadron of galleys attached to the port.

It was on May 10 that Drake appeared off the river and came to anchor in Cascaes Bay. In St. Julian's Castle was the Marquis of Santa Cruz commanding in person, and snug under its guns could be seen seven galleys with their oars out ready for immediate action. As luck would have it, it fell dead calm, giving them a splendid opportunity to attack the English at their anchors. Yet not a galley stirred; perhaps the Cadiz lesson had been too sharp; and all day Drake rode in triumph, where he was 'in contempt of the said town of Cascaes, its castle, and the galleys,' while his light oared-vessels hunted down every coaster that came in sight, driving them upon the rocks or capturing them under the Marquis's eyes. 'The Marquis of Santa Cruz,' wrote Drake in his complacent way, 'seeing us chase his ships ashore was content to suffer us there quietly to tarry and never charged us with one cannon shot.'[1]

[1] The Spaniards said Drake threatened a landing at Cascaes, and only desisted because he heard the Portuguese would resist it ('The King to Medina-Sidonia;' Duro, *Armada Inven.* Doc. 21). They also say Don Alonso de Bazan, Santa Cruz's brother, did attack with the galleys, but could do no damage, because the English guns were heavier and of longer range, which seems tantamount to saying that he did not attack at all (see *Venetian Calendar*, viii. 283). From this report it also appears that they

As Santa Cruz would not come out and Drake saw plainly he could not go in, he again attempted to arrange an exchange of his prisoners against English galley-slaves, and at the same time demanded whether the King intended that year to make war in England. Santa Cruz sent reply that he had no Englishmen prisoners, and that the King was not provided for war that year. Both statements the English believed to be false, but the second was certainly true, though as yet Philip did not realise it. Drake returned answer that having twice been refused an exchange, he should sell his Spanish prisoners to the Moors and with the purchase money redeem Englishmen in their captivity. To this message he added taunts and insults, challenging the Marquis to come out and fight him, but all was of no avail. Santa Cruz could not move a ship, and though all next day Drake stood off and on outside the bar capturing or driving ashore everything that came in sight, not a finger was stirred against him. In the evening a northerly gale began to blow up, and being now assured of the impossibility of attacking the place with the force at his disposal and that he had nothing to fear from Santa Cruz, he ran before it and took up the anchorage he had secured under Cape St. Vincent. In not attempting Lisbon he was doubtless well advised, although he certainly seems to have contemplated the exploit. 'Drake,' wrote Ubaldino on the Admiral's own information, 'at the beginning of the assembling of the enemy's armada

thought it was only the failure of the wind that saved Lisbon from the fate of Cadiz.

was assured that in a certain way he could do it hurt, notwithstanding the fortresses that are there.' Judging from his previous exploits we may assume that this 'certain way' meant by the co-operation of troops against St. Julian's, and that his reason for not attempting the operation was that his crews were so much crippled with disease that he regarded them as inadequate to furnish a proper force for landing.[1]

[1] It is very generally said (see Froude, *Hist. of England*, xii. 295, &c.; *English Seamen*, 183; Green, *Hist. of the English People*) that the reason of Drake's retiring from Lisbon was the receipt of positive orders from the Queen that he was not to attack the place. The receipt of this message is nowhere mentioned in any of the narratives or despatches. The idea seems to have arisen from a despatch written by Drake to Walsyngham, bearing date June 2, 1587. Though it is thus placed amongst the Domestic State Papers (ccii. 7), the date is clearly a mistake for 1589. On June 2, 1587, Drake was in mid-ocean half-way from St. Vincent to the Azores, a most unlikely time for him to have written a despatch relating to exploits on the Spanish coasts, a full account of which he already had sent home by Captain Parker, on May 22, on the eve of sailing for the Azores (*S.P. Dom.* cci. 38, and 'Newes out of Spain,' reprinted in *C.S. Misc.* v. 42). Moreover, internal evidence makes the matter quite clear. The despatch refers to the destruction of provisions at Coruña and Lisbon, and the capture of sixty provision ships. From Drake's other despatches, it is certain none of these things happened during the expedition of 1587. They did occur, however, during the expedition of 1589. On June 2, 1589, Norreys and he had just failed in their attempt on Lisbon, and hence the expression of regret that he had been forbidden to begin his operations at Lisbon. It is the expression of this regret in the despatch in question that seems to have led to the idea that fresh orders from the Queen reached him at Lisbon in 1587. Mr. Froude, relying on the date assigned to this despatch, even makes Drake, in 1587, attack Coruña, which he certainly did not. Finally, Drake says he is about to cruise in search of booty ('some little comfortable dew of heaven,' as he calls it). This we know was his intention on the first week of June, 1589 (see 'Norreys and Drake to the Council,' *S.P. Dom.* ccxxiv. 85, June 5, 1589).

The unhappy condition of the fleet served further to demonstrate the strategical value of his daring capture of St. Vincent. The old enemy, which throughout the war continued to thwart the most sagacious conceptions of the English admirals, was so heavily upon him that it had become necessary to weed away the invalids and to refresh the sound men ashore and cleanse the ships. At Cape St. Vincent he could now do this unmolested ; and for a week he was occupied in changing his foul ballast, washing down and disinfecting the whole fleet, and giving the men spells ashore. Nor was this all. They now had full information of how completely the station they had taken up was paralysing the Spanish dispositions. 'We hold this cape,' wrote Fenner, 'so greatly to our benefit and so much to their disadvantage as it is a great blessing the obtaining thereof; for the rendezvous is at Lisbon, where we understand of some twenty-five ships and seven galleys. [As for] the rest, we lie between home and them, so as the body is without the members, and they cannot come together.' Drake at this time felt he had secured the key of the situation, and sent home an appeal for reinforcements that he might cling to it. 'As long as it shall please God,' he wrote to Walsyngham, 'to give us provisions to eat and drink, and that our ships and wind and weather will permit us, you shall surely hear of us near the Cape St. Vincent, where we do and will expect daily what her Majesty's and your honours will further command. God make us all thankful that her Majesty sent out these few ships in time. If there were here six more of her

Majesty's good ships of the second sort we should be the better able to keep the forces from joining, and haply take or impeach his fleets from all places in the next month and so after, which is the chiefest times of their returns home ; which I judge in my poor opinion will bring this great monarchy to those conditions which are meet.'

So sure was Drake of his position, or else so much occupied with business in hand, that his scouting does not seem to have been done as well as usual. For on the 18th a negro, hotly pursued, was seen making his escape to an English shore party, and being carried on board the flag-ship, he reported that ten galleys had just arrived at Lagos. The meaning of this was that on Drake's departure from Cadiz for an unknown destination Philip had ordered the Count of Santa Gadea to proceed with his squadron of galleys to the south coast of Portugal, if the English were reported in that direction. In order to ascertain the truth his instructions were to cruise as far as Cape St. Vincent, and if he received intelligence that Drake had gone on to any other port of Portugal he was to follow, and, if possible, join hands with Santa Cruz in Lisbon.[1] It must have been his squadron that the negro reported at Lagos. Drake at once made sail and proceeded eastwards, sweeping the coast, as usual, with his light squadron as he went. Coming abreast of Lagos he found the galleys still lying off the place, and immediately attacked. At his first broadsides, however, Santa Gadea retired among the reefs and took up a position where the shoal water would

[1] Duro, *Arm. Inven.* Doc. 21, p. 348.

not permit the English ships to approach within cannon shot. In vain Drake's pinnaces again played havoc with the coast craft; the galleys would not be tempted out. At night it came on to blow, and he put to sea; but, doubling back, he reappeared at Lagos next morning. Still the galleys had not ventured to stir. Moving further to the eastward, still destroying as he went, he landed four hundred men near Albufeira and burnt a fishing village.[1] Even this would not draw the galleys, and Drake returned to his anchorage in Sagres Bay.

Meanwhile Philip had heard of Drake's demonstration at Lisbon, and was forced once more to change all his orders. Believing that Pimentel by this time must have reached Cadiz with his tertia and his cargo of guns in the six Sicilian vessels, he sent orders down to Medina-Sidonia, at Cadiz, that if Santa Gadea had not, in obedience to previous orders, left for the Portuguese coast, he was immediately to take Pimentel's tertia and the guns on board his galleys, together with a body of 600 troops that had been mustered for the Indies fleet, and proceed with all speed to Lisbon. If the galleys had sailed, Pimentel was to land and proceed by forced marches to Santa Cruz's relief; and if by chance the galleys were still at Cadiz, and the local officers thought it unsafe for them to leave the port uncovered for any length of time, they were to embark the troops, and

[1] This episode is related only by Leng. He calls the place Algaferra. The Venetian ambassador also reports it: 'He has had,' he writes, 'an engagement with twelve of the galleys at Lagos. It lasted all day with a heavy cannonade, which, however, produced little effect, and they were parted by a storm' (*Venetian Calendar*, viii. 283).

instead of taking them to Lisbon to land them at the nearest point they could to shorten the march thither. As to the ships, they were to wait where they were until the Neapolitan squadron arrived with the galleasses.[1] Two days later, having heard that Drake had disappeared from Lisbon and convinced that now he must be bound to intercept the Indies convoys, the King ordered Santa Cruz to man the Portuguese galleons with the troops that were coming by land and the men of Recalde's squadron, and proceed to sea immediately, in order to prevent the disaster which would completely ruin his shattered finances; and at the same time Medina-Sidonia was instructed to get the ships in Cadiz ready, so that the moment the galleasses arrived they could all put to sea together and join Santa Cruz at Cape St. Vincent.[2] Two days later again, the situation was changed a third time by the news that Drake had reappeared at St. Vincent. Santa Cruz now wrote that he was sure Drake's object was to prevent the Cadiz divisions joining those at Lisbon, which he had convinced himself could not move. He therefore urgently pressed for the Sicilian tertia to be sent to the Tagus overland by forced marches that he might get to sea and fight Drake before he received the reinforcements, which it was believed he was expecting, and which indeed seem to have been actually in preparation at home.[3]

[1] Duro, *Arm. Inven.* Doc. 21, May 25, 'The King to Medina-Sidonia.'

[2] *Ibid.* Doc. 22 and 23.

[3] 'Four of Her Majesty's ships with six sail of the merchants are ready to go towards Sir Francis;' 'Goche to the Earl of Rutland,' June 19, 1587. *Belvoir Papers*, *Hist. MSS. Com.* Rep. XII. iv 219.

Philip therefore repeated his former orders to Cadiz with renewed emphasis. Meanwhile, however, the officers at that port, burning to retrieve their reputation and not caring perhaps to play second fiddle to Santa Cruz, instead of obeying the King's first order, had sent him word that in a week or ten days' time they could put to sea with sixty sail, not counting the Neapolitan squadron, of which there was still no news, and that they were prepared to drive Drake from his station, and having defeated him to join Santa Cruz in triumph. To this course Philip weakly committed himself, entrusting the command of the proposed movement to Santa Gadea.[1] A week went by, and nothing came from Cadiz except reports of all kinds of difficulties in getting the ships ready for sea, and the King sent down Don Alonso de Leyva, the most brilliant officer at his Court, to inspect the preparations and push things forward. Having during the war of Granada and in the Low Countries achieved a reputation which made him the pattern of Spanish chivalry and soldiership, Leyva had been made Captain-General of the Sicilian galleys. From this command he was promoted to be Captain-General of the Milanese Cavalry, and having resigned this high office in order to serve in the Enterprise of England, he had recently arrived at Court in the full tide of his master's favour and the people's admiration. Yet for all the new life and vigour which he brought he could not stir the inert machine. Drake with his single squadron had thrown everything out of gear; the galleasses were

[1] Duro, Doc. 26.

still unheard of; and Philip, in despair, a fourth time changed his plan. The troops were to be taken in the galleys across the gulf of Cadiz and landed at Ayamonte in the mouth of the Guadiana; and so by river and road to make their way with all speed to Lisbon. For the news the King dreaded had come. Drake had sailed for the Azores.

The motive of this sudden movement Drake does not disclose. On April 17, as we have seen, he announced his intention of continuing on the station he had seized, and asked for reinforcements. On the 21st, after the ineffectual attempt to destroy the galleys at Lagos, he wrote another despatch saying he was sending home his sick in some of his prizes, and asking that the best of these vessels might be sent back to him. He also wrote a short letter to Burghley informing him he had dismissed Borough from his command, but neither he nor Fenner hint at the western cruise. The following day the vessels detailed for home parted company, and Drake with the rest of the fleet stood on his course. The explanation which Monson gives is that he had obtained information of a rich carrack homeward bound from the East Indies which had been wintering at Mozambique, and which was consequently expected to arrive that month. This is almost certainly the truth. We know the San Felipe—as the carrack was called—was a source of special anxiety to the King, and that Drake was believed by him to be receiving full information from spies ashore.[1] Monson adds that Drake's men wanted to go home and begged him to do so, and

[1] *Venetian Cal.* viii. 283.

that it was only by fair speeches that he induced them to make the attempt.

For three days it blew with such violence that all the Londoners lost touch and the Bonaventure herself came near foundering. When the gale had blown itself out nearly the whole of the merchantmen had disappeared, and only ten vessels were in company. They seem to have included all six of the Queen's vessels, and the force, therefore, was still formidable; but the same day, while the Bonaventure was repairing damages, a remarkable incident occurred which still further reduced Drake's strength. A strange sail was sighted to leeward, and Marchant in the Lion, upon which Borough, the Vice-Admiral, was under arrest, gave chase in company with the Spy. She had been lying considerably to leeward of the pinnace, and was the first to fetch up the chase. It proved to be one of their own homeward-bound ships; but instead of beating up to resume her place in the fleet, the Lion was seen to stand away before the wind for home, while the Spy pinnace returned alone to the flag-ship. On board her was Captain Marchant. He had to report that, when he had ordered the vessel to go about, the crew with the boatswain at their head had refused to carry out the master's directions. They were short-handed, they said, and water and victuals were low, and they preferred to stand to the Queen's mercy than to court certain death with Drake. In vain Marchant reasoned with them. He believed that Borough was at the bottom of the whole affair, and finally, finding it impossible to bring the men to obedience, he had

deserted the ship rather than desert his admiral. Drake was furious. Summoning the council of war, he empanelled a jury to try the mutineers. They were found guilty, and as the Lion disappeared below the horizon he sentenced Borough and all the chief officers of the ship to death.

Every hope that Drake may have cherished of returning to complete his work on the Spanish coast was now at an end. But still, storm beaten and deserted as he was, his project against the Indian convoys was clung to pertinaciously, and with the nine vessels that remained he held on for the Azores. On the morning of June 8, sixteen days out from St. Vincent, St. Michael's rose in sight. Towards evening as they neared the island a very large vessel was made out under the land. Judging her to be a man-of-war, Drake ordered the Rainbow to heave-to and stand by two of the pinnaces which had fallen astern, while he himself held on for the stranger. At day-break his care was rewarded by seeing her apparently making towards him. On a stiff breeze he at once made all sail to meet her, and before he had reached a league he could see she was a huge Portuguese carrack, and knew he had found the splendid prize he had come to seek. She came on dipping her flag again and again as an invitation to the strangers to declare their colours. 'But we,' says an eye-witness, 'knowing what she was, would put out no flag until we were within shot of her, when we hanged out flags, streamers, and pendants, that she might be out of doubt what we were. Which done, we hailed her with cannon-shot; and having shot her through divers times, she shot at us,

sometimes at one, sometimes at another. Then we began to ply her hotly, our flyboat and one of our pinnaces lying athwart her hawse, at whom she shot and threw fireworks, but did them no hurt, for that her ordnance lay so high over them. Then she seeing us ready to lay her aboard, all of our ships a-plying her so hotly and resolutely determined to make short [work] of her, six of her men being slain and divers sore hurt, they yielded unto us.' [1]

She proved indeed to be the San Felipe, the King of Spain's own East-Indiaman, 'the greatest ship in all Portugal, richly laden, to our happy joy and great gladness.' No such prize had ever been seen. In her hold were hundreds of tons of spices and precious gums, chests upon chests of costly china, bales of silks and velvets, and coffers of bullion and jewels. With her gems, furniture, and cargo, she was valued eventually at 114,000*l.*, or not far short of a million of our money, and besides, beyond all value, there were the whole of her papers disclosing the long kept secrets of the East India trade.[2]

For Drake there was nothing more to do but make the best of his way home to secure his prize and seek reinforcements for the completion of his work on the Spanish coast. This accordingly he did, and on June 26, just three months after he had sailed, he anchored in Plymouth Sound with his

[1] Leng.

[2] It is usually said that it was these papers which stirred the London merchants to form the East India Company, and that in this way Drake's prize was the foundation of our Indian Empire. It should be noted, however, that the Muscovy Company, and others, had endeavoured to open trade to the far East, as an immediate result of Drake's treaty with Ternate in 1579.

splendid booty and a reputation unsurpassed in Europe.

In all those wars there was no campaign to match that of 1587. 'The truth is,' wrote the Venetian ambassador, 'that he has done so much damage on these coasts of Spain alone, that though the King were to obtain a most signal victory against him he would not recover one half the loss he has suffered.' Even Monson, the harshest of critics, pronounced it to be without flaw. To this day it may serve as the finest example of how a small well-handled fleet, carrying a compact landing force and acting on a nicely timed offensive, may paralyse the mobilisation of an overwhelming force. We have seen how, when Drake had once secured his well-chosen station, he had merely to shift his position now and again, and to every centre orders came tripping up each other's heels, till the whole system of the enemy was in tangled confusion. Nor even with his disappearance did the effects of his masterly movements cease. As he left the coast we have seen Philip, for the fourth time, changing plans.[1] The troops were to proceed to Lisbon by land and the ships to endeavour to slip round in the enemy's absence, so soon as the Neapolitan squadron joined. But on no account were they to move without it, 'because the people that come in the galleasses of Naples are of so much importance by reason of the service they have seen, and the rest are all new, and not very expert either at sea or in arms.'[2] So for fear lest Drake might return, as he had done before, no movement was possible. For

[1] Duro, *Arm. Inven.* Doc. 28, June 1–10. [2] *Ibid.* Doc. 30.

the Neapolitan squadron did not come. June wore away, and Philip, with ruin staring him in face, sent down orders that the Cadiz division must sail without the galleasses, and trust to the galleys for protection.[1] He was trembling for the Flota of the Spanish Main, which he knew had sailed with the year's produce of Peru, and his idea was for the Cadiz and Lisbon divisions to concentrate at Cape St. Vincent and save it.[2] 'Please God,' wrote the Cardinal-Archduke from the seat of his Vice-royalty at Lisbon, 'to give it a happy voyage, and that it come to the salvation of Spain.' Of the invasion of England there was no longer a word. Drake had substituted for it a forlorn hope, that possibly by straining every nerve Spain might save herself from ruin. So great was the tension, that the heroic Santa Cruz, impatient of delay, threw Philip's tangled orders to the winds, and the moment the troops reached Lisbon put to sea, sending the King word he was bound for the Azores to save the gold fleet, and that he had ordered the Cadiz division to follow when and how it could. This was in the last days of June; and thus as Drake puts in to Plymouth in triumph with his prize, we see his splendid enemy fooled into wasting his strength in a wild-goose chase to avert a danger that did not exist.

It cannot be too much regretted that, over a campaign so brilliant and full of genius, a shadow should be cast by the unhappy relations between Drake and his Vice-Admiral. With this question

[1] Duro, *Arm. Inven.* Doc. 32, July 5.
[2] *Ibid.* Doc. 34.

the bulk of papers are concerned.[1] The charges against Borough resolved themselves into four. (1) Cowardice at Cadiz. (2) Inciting to disobedience there. (3) Insubordination off Cape St. Vincent. (4) Procuring the mutiny and desertion of the crew of the Lion. Drake certainly believed him guilty. Borough as certainly believed the charges were made in malice. High as feeling ran on the question at the time, it is now not difficult to judge between them. Comparing the circumstances of the case, as detailed in the evidence which is now before us, with Drake's conduct in the parallel case of Doughty on the voyage of circumnavigation, we may clearly discern the truth.

Taking first the Cadiz charges, it must be remembered that Borough was an old-fashioned officer grown grey in the naval traditions which Drake was making obsolete, and that Drake was engaged in an operation that was without precedent and that set at defiance all the recognised rules of warfare. Drake was a man—as Ubaldino wrote—who even by his admirers among the regular naval officers was to some extent mistrusted, as bred in irregular warfare and unfamiliar with the science of his profession. Borough was exactly the reverse, and felt he had been attached to Drake for the express purpose of tempering his rashness and supplying his lack of training. To this day the extent to which a subordinate officer of experience is entitled to depart from orders which, in his judgment,

[1] The record of the proceedings at the court-martial have not been included, as they have recently been printed in full by Mr. Oppenheim, as an appendix to his *Administration of the Royal Navy*.

are suicidal is still a moot point, and when Borough, as he says, took measures to secure his chief's retreat and protect his rear, which Drake seemed to have entirely forgotten, there is no doubt he really felt he was doing his duty. That he acted with caution, and even an excess of caution, is hardly to be denied ; but it must be remembered that, as far as we know, Drake did not resent his behaviour at the time, and took no notice of it until after Borough's second offence.

That Borough was very ready for disobedience is equally clear. It is difficult to read the recital of his services which his protest contains, without feeling that in his opinion Drake's position and his own ought to have been reversed. As an old Queen's officer, he cannot but have chafed at being made to serve under a man whom many regarded as little better than a pardoned pirate. Above all, he was piqued at Drake's conduct of his command, and particularly at the way he neglected to consult the experience and wisdom of his Vice-Admiral. There is something almost humorously pathetic in his picture of Drake's perfunctory way of holding a council of war, nor can we help sympathising with the injured veteran's chagrin. In those days the council of war was regarded as of much higher authority than it is now. By the traditions of the service, as formulated by Henry VIII.'s orders, it was a standing regulation that 'the admiral shall not take in hand any exploit to land or enter into any harbour of the enemy, but he shall call a council and make his captains privy to his device.' Through this tradition, as through so many others, Drake was the first to break. The obvious

meaning of the rule was that he was to consult his captains on the propriety of such operations. Drake interpreted it by merely summoning his captains and telling them what he meant to do, and sometimes, as Borough complained, not even so much. When, therefore, Drake merely announced his intention of destroying the batteries of Cape St. Vincent without any council being called, Borough could not be expected to refrain from seizing the very proper opportunity it afforded of relieving his feelings by a formal protest. No doubt he was glad enough of the chance, but he certainly believed honestly he was doing his duty both to himself and the service. Moreover, having never risen to the level of Drake's genius for naval strategy, he could see nothing in the operation but a foolhardy and vainglorious desire to win renown and insult the King of Spain, and it is clear that he believed his special mission was to prevent any such indulgences of Drake's ruling passion.

To Drake the protest meant something very different. Once already on his great voyage he had found that a traitor had been attached to him for the purpose of thwarting his action against Spain, and the tragedy in which it ended cannot but have permanently warped his judgment. He must have known that there was a party at home bent on getting him prohibited from attacking Spanish territory. He even suspected a design on their part of suborning his crews at the outset, and in Borough's honest protest he saw evidence of a new attempt to play the old game upon him. In his eyes it was no mere breach of discipline, but, as he himself wrote,

'it toucheth further.' The unhappy officer's conduct at Cadiz was displayed to him in a new light. The subsequent desertion of Borough's ship confirmed his worst suspicions, and the implacable animosity against the friends of Spain, that was part of his truculently patriotic nature, took possession of his judgment.

On the whole then we may acquit both men of anything reprehensible. Both, no doubt, acted partly from pique. Drake resented Borough's pedagoguish and patronising attitude towards him. Borough resented Drake's contempt of his reputation. But both were actuated mainly by loyalty to what they believed were the highest interests of the service and the country, and each honestly believed the other to be a dangerous man.

In mitigation of Drake's harshness it must be remembered that his position was extremely difficult. No regulations then existed in the navy for dealing with offending officers. The court-martial was not yet an institution. The only traditional rule of the service was that an insubordinate captain was to be set ashore and his conduct reported to the Council. This clearly only contemplated operations in the Narrow Seas. It could not be done at a distance. The first known precedent for a maritime tribunal was the court Drake formed for the trial of Doughty. It was, of course, *ultra vires* and illegal, but it was so far approved as to be adopted as a model in the general orders issued to Fenton in the succeeding voyage. The only reservation was that it was given no capital jurisdiction over superior officers. How far Drake's commission extended in this direction is

not known, but again his conduct was so far approved that henceforth it became the practice to insert special judicial powers in the commissions of commanding officers.

On three grounds then this campaign may be regarded as founding an epoch in naval history. First, we have the birth of a sound and intelligent strategy as distinguished from the crude cross-raiding of the Middle Ages; secondly, we have the final demonstration of the superiority of the sailing warship to the time-honoured galley, even on its own ground; and, thirdly, the commencement of real naval discipline, and the institution of the naval court-martial.

III. Miscellaneous Papers.—These are mainly of three classes: (1) Papers relating to mobilisation and the general details of Admiralty administration; (2) Papers relating specially to Hawkyns's administration; (3) Papers relating to naval ordnance. The first speak for themselves; the third are dealt with in Appendix A. Of the second it is necessary to say little. Mr. Oppenheim, in an appendix on the subject in his 'History of the Administration of the Navy,' has so completely exposed the worthlessness of the attacks on Hawkyns's honesty that the charge will probably never be revived. It is difficult to see how any one used to evidence can fail to endorse the opinion of Mr. Oppenheim and the opinion of the greatest and best informed of Hawkyns's contemporaries and colleagues. In the memory of the next generations the period of Hawkyns's administration lived as the golden age of the Admiralty, and not

a shadow of real or untainted evidence exists to afford us a reason for not sharing their view. Those who are familiar with the inner lines of public life under Elizabeth will draw from the papers here collected and those later ones printed in Professor Laughton's 'Defeat of the Armada' but one conclusion. The truth is that Hawkyns, surrounded by intrigue, jealousy, and suspicion, exposed to all kinds of temptation in an atmosphere of peculation, never ceased to be the rough, honest seaman, and lived a life apart, in the unpopularity which his war with official corruption entailed, till at last, broken with unappreciated toil and unmerited losses, he went down to his grave the conspicuous example of that age of a capable and upright public servant.

Generally, the present volume may be regarded as introductory to those on the 'Defeat of the Armada,' edited for the Society by Professor Laughton, to whom I am deeply indebted for criticism and advice. As far as possible, the same lines have been followed in arrangement and method, so that the three together may afford a continuous picture of the opening years of our first great naval war, and the weapons with which it was fought.

Errata.

OWING to the Editor's absence from England, some of his last corrections were not received till after the sheets had been printed off. In addition to a few names which are irregularly spelt, the following have to be noted :—

Page 4, *delete* note 2.
,, 16, note 1, *for* Sir William Turner, *read* Sir James.
,, 32, line 18, *for* Regino, *read* Regni.
,, 102, note 1, line 10, *after* for, *insert* a.
,, 178, *for* note 1, *substitute* See *Def. of the Armada*, vol. i. p. 196 *n.*
,, 222, line 5, *for* Lyme, *read* Lynn; also on p. 249, note 5, *bis*.
,, 253, lines 31, 33, *for* then, *read* than.
,, 284, in list of ships, *for* Signet, *read* Cygnet.
,, 296, line 25, *delete* the *after* with.
,, 299, *for* No. 50, *read* 51; in No. 56, *dele* Absent with . . . Duck.
,, 313, note 13, line 1, *for* 280, *read* 230.

STATE PAPERS

RELATING TO THE

SPANISH WAR 1585-7

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1585–6

[**Bibl. Reg. 7. c. xvi. fol. 166.**]

The discourse and description of the voyage of Sir Francis Drake and Mr. Captain Frobiser set forward the 14th day of September, 1585.

The 14th day of September we set sail from Plymouth in Devon with 29 ships and pinnaces,[1] directing our course for to touch at the islands of Bayona, and then alongst the coast to Cape de Verde and so to the West Indies.

The 18th day of September we met with a

[1] The 'pinnace' in the English service was used to signify all oared craft larger than ordinary ships' boats. They were of two classes—decked and undecked—or, as we should now say, first and second class. The former were always counted as independent units of a fleet; the latter were attached to, and even carried by, the larger ships. They ranged generally from 20 to 60 tons, and were considered indispensable as the eyes of a fleet and for landing and cutting out operations. Their oar propulsion was regarded as auxiliary only, and, with the exception of those acting as tenders to flagships, they usually were organised as an independent light squadron.

Frenchman of 60 tons with whom we talked, and found he came from Newfoundland, and so we let him depart.

The 19th day there were two ships set chase to some of us, and after they perceived the whole fleet they took them to flight.

The 22nd and 23rd days another ship gave chase to us, whom we [let] pass. The same day we took a Biscayan of 150 tons, a [very] good new ship laden with fish; we took her along with us [and] made good prize of her; she was of St. Sebastian in Spain.

The 24th day we fell with Galicia, a place called the Moors[1] . . and presently the Spaniards made great fires and raised the country. We found there five sail of Frenchmen. Four we let go, and [one] we took with us because we found nobody in her;[2] they [all] were run ashore for fear. They were all loaden with salt. The same day we met very near with twenty sail of Englishmen, some of London, some of Bristol, Hampton, &c.; they told us that [they] had burned a town called Viana[3] and lost twenty-five men there, and [they] would go with us to burn Bayona and Vigo.

[The] 27th day we took a Spanish fisherboat in the morning. [Thereafter] we went into Bayona and anchored in the harbour, which the [inhabitants] perceiving made great fires and raised the country; [very] great numbers as well horsemen as footmen showed themselves unto us with their drums and ensigns. The same day after noon we landed about 200 men close before the town upon a little

[1] *I.e.* Muros, below Finisterre. They made Finisterre on the 23rd. See Wynter's desp., *post*, p. 50.

[2] She was rechristened the Drake and added to the fleet. She was afterwards duly paid for, on the owners making a claim, and took part in Drake's expedition of 1587.

[3] Now Vianna, the capital of Entre Douro et Minho.

island, and there came to us both Spaniards and Englishmen from the town that dwelt there to know what we would have. We told them that we were come for those Englishmen that they had in prison, and for our merchants' goods which they kept, and that we lacked victuals; and they gave us fair words and told us we should have wine and victuals and anything they had for money.

The same day the Spaniards sent unto our governor grapes, apples, oranges, and such like. There was upon this island a little chapel with a house adjoining to it, but the people were fled; there were three or four images in that chapel which we brake and burned, and found nothing else [upon] this island but an old chest with a cope in it and other such relics; we kept this isle till midnight and then departed. The same day in the morning we took a fisherboat, and about ten of the clock at night we took a boat carrying six hogs to those that were encamped against us.

The 28th day we had such tempests that we were forced to strike . . . top[1] and top masts and tackle. Two of our ships were driven to cut their masts and cast them overboard, and some to forsake the harbour. And the same day we lost the Bark Talbot for certain days.

The 31st day the tempest began to cease, and we removed our ships and came to an anchor before Vigo, and there we found beds and other household stuff carried into boats and lying on the shore. There we left four men which had been beheaded by the Spaniards the night before; thither came a Frenchman from the Terceiras[2] laden with wine and sugars. This ship being laden with Spaniards'

[1] The word before 'top' is torn.

[2] In the Azores, the rendezvous of the homeward-bound East and West Indian fleets. MS. Tarseros.

goods we made [goo]d prize and took her into our custody and shared the sugars amongst [the] fleet. The night before there was taken a boat with certain gentlemen [in] it with money, plate and jewels, and two crosses very rich. Likewise there was taken a boat laden with leather. One of [the] said two crosses was as much as one could lift, and was valued to be worth 3,000 ducats; the other cross, money, jewels, plate and leather was valued at 3,000 ducats more.[1]

The 2nd day of October the Spaniards came down to the water side and desired parley with us; and then was Mr. Captain[2] Frobiser sent unto them, who told them that we desired to water there, and likewise to have our Englishmen which they had in prison, and their goods; and they answered we should upon condition that we would deliver them those goods which we had t[aken when] we came thither, which they valued as is before said [at] 6,000 ducats, and presently after this parley they came down [with] ensigns to the waterside and showed themselves to [us].

The next day, the 3rd of October, there came Spaniards aboard our Admiral to banquet with us, and then Captain Crosse, [and] Captain [Sampson][3] were sent to Bayona, and two Spaniards were left pledges for them; then the Spaniards came thick about our ships.

The 4th day we went ashore and watered and washed our clothes and kept our men in garrison.

The 6th day we came to an anchor before Vigo

[1] The Spanish and Portuguese ducat was usually reckoned at about 5*s.* 6*d.* English money. Thus, 3,000 ducats was 825*l.*, or about 6,500*l.* modern value.

[2] For 'Mr. Captain' cf. *post*, p. 158.

[3] Blank in MS. Name supplied from Cates's *Summary Discourse* in Hakluyt (see Introduction, *supra*, p. xiv.).

again and sent ashore to fetch our captains aboard, but they delayed the time and sent more Spaniards aboard of us, and there were speeches amongst the Spaniards that if we tarried there sixteen days they would wash their hands in Englishmen's blood.

In this harbour was found a caravel laden with fish. So soon as we came the men forsook her, so that we carried her away with us.

The 7th day we weighed anchor and came to an anchor again more near Bayona; there we took the fish out of the Biscayan,[1] which we took first, and brake the ship in pieces; the other caravel that we took out of Vigo road we made a hole in her and sank her and her fish.

The 8th day we manned three pinnaces and one galley[2] and the George, and sent them to Bayona, where after much parley we received our captains and delivered their men.

The 9th day the wind began to wax great, and we weighed anchor and went unto the sea. The night before we took a Frenchman laden with fish, which we let go, and the same day the bark Talbot came and found us in the same harbour where she left us.

The 11th day we in the Primrose, being Vice-Admiral, lost all our ships by a tempest, saving the French ship we took last.

The 16th day we descried the Isles of Madeiras,[3] but we went not in. The 17th day we met with our fleet again, but the Tiger had lost her pinnaces[4] and

[1] MS. Biske.

[2] This, of course, was not a true galley. They had long ceased to accompany English fleets. It was probably a large pinnace or small galleon fitted with oars, and given in the Hakluyt list as the galleot 'Duck,' Captain Richard Hawkyns.

[3] MS. Matheros.

[4] This probably means that the Tiger was 'admiral' or flag-ship of the pinnace squadron. See *post*, p. 45, and *note*.

the Admiral had lost her pinnace with six men in her.

The 22nd day we gave chase to two ships, but what they were we know not.

The 24th day we fell with the Canaries.

The 26th day we had sight of the town of Reff,[1] and so coasted along towards the Grand Canaries.

The 28th day we gave chase to a Frenchman and spoke to him; he told us that he was bound for Peru, or to meet with the King of Spain's fleet from the Indies, and told us that they met with forty sail of Spaniards at Cape St. Vincent and said that he had lost the company of three ships that he was Admiral of; he plied up and down the islands to meet with them again, and he was very glad of our company.

On the 3rd day of November we put our ships into the island of Palme before the town called Palme,[2] thinking to have anchored there, but they presently shot their great ordnance at us, about 20 shot, and struck the Admiral quite through in 2 several places, and shot the bark Talbot through the sails, but, thanks be to God! our men had no hurt. They had three platforms that they did discharge at us and flourished with their ensigns. We had a fair leading gale[3] of wind and put into the sea, not meaning to leave them so.

The 4th day we went ashore on another island[4] hard by for water, but there was none to be had. There we found an English boy; he came down with the Justice of the isle with 20 or 30 men with them. They asked us what we would have; we told them oil, wine, and water. We got the boy into our boat with much ado; we asked the boy how he came

[1] Probably Arrecifa, now Port Naos, in Lancerotte.

[2] Probably Santa Cruz, in Palma.

[3] A 'gale' in Elizabethan English always means a good sailing breeze.

[4] Hierro or Ferro (*Summary Discourse*).

there; he told us that he was born at Plimpton, in Devon, and that he was left there to sell wheat and kerseys for a brother he had, and he had been there half a year. We inquired the state of the country of him, but he durst not tell us; and then we got two Spaniards into our boat and they told us what was in the island; so we set them ashore and bade them bring us sheep or goats, butter or cheese, or oil, or anything, and they should have money for it. The boy and these two men went to the Justice and told him, and he sent them to us again and promised to give us a dozen goats, but none came.

We landed above 600 men there, with their furniture, and marched and cast rings; perceiving they would send us nothing we went aboard, thinking the next day to overcome the whole island.

But the wind came fair the next day, and the same night we descried four of our ships which had lost our company before, so we took the fair wind and went to sea, where otherwise we had gone to Palme and sacked it if we might.[1]

The 10th of November we descried the land of Barbary, and sailing along the coast in sight of land we fell with Cape Blanco.

The 14th day we met at that Cape with four sail of Frenchmen riding at an anchor, and as soon as they descried us they weighed anchor and got them to sea; we gave them chase and spoke with them; they thought that we had been a fleet of Spaniards.[2]

[1] Cates says they visited Palma, 'with intention to have taken our pleasure of that place, for the full digesting of many things into order [*i.e.* for completing the organisation of the force], and the better furnishing our store, &c.' No doubt Drake had some such intention; but finding the surprise had failed, abandoned the idea, since it was not part of his programme. (See the *Summary Discourse* and *post*, p. 69.)

[2] Cates says they were ships of war, 'whom we entertained with great courtesy.'

And in giving them chase they threw off a little pinnace, which pinnace with . . men in her went with us.

The 16th [or 26] day we fell with Buena Vista,[1] an island, and the next morning we fell with another isle, called Maia,[2] and the same night we [ancho]red at another island, called Santiago,[3] where we presently landed 600 men and thought the next morning to take them suddenly, but they had descried us the same night we landed, and in the morning when we came into the town they were all gone out, neither man, woman, nor child left, and they had taken with them all the best of their goods, as gold, silver, plate, and apparel.[4] This town had about six or seven hundred houses in it. They shot about a dozen great shot at our ships in the night, and so left off.

We found between 50 and 60 pieces of ordnance there in the forts—they had four forts—and all of brass; they were valued with their pieces at a thousand pounds; likewise we found there twelve barrels of powder and brought all away with us, so that we left them not one piece. We found in this town good store of wine, near 100 ton, with sweet oil and olives, bread and meal and dried goats, with great store of cotton, and every house so full of chests made of sweet wood, as cypress, &c., that it was wonderful to see.

This town has three churches in it, but their best images were carried away with them. It is a very fruitful place, and hath great abundance of silk and cotton growing all over the island. There is a great store of oranges, sugar canes, and cocoa[5] trees

[1] In the Cape Verde Islands. MS. Bonafista.

[2] MS. Maioy.

[3] Also called 'Gynnye,' or Guinea. (See below.) MS. Santa Ango.

[4] Cates gives these shore operations in detail.

[5] MS. 'cokaies.'

bearing a fruit called guinea nuts;[1] there is great abundance of these growing therein, with lemons, figs and dates, quinces and potatoes, with great store of small fish at the seaside, which may be taken with little labour.

Also, they have a fine river running through the town and monstrous high rocks round about the same, of such height and so upright that scarce any man is able to attain the tops thereof. There are in these rocks monkeys, and such a number of newts in every house, street, &c., that it would amaze a man to see them.

They have goodly joined[2] works in their churches and houses of great cost and workmanship.

There was adjoining to their greatest church an hospital, with as brave rooms in it, and in as goodly order as any man can devise; we found about 20 sick persons, all negroes, lying of very foul and frightful diseases. In this hospital we took all the bells out of the steeple and brought them away with us.

This island is full of bears, deer, goats, and hens, very many of them wild which never come to house.

There are asses and goodly horses; all their buildings are of stone.

Besides all this there was found a great deal of trash, which would ask much time to rehearse.

This town stands in the island of Guinea,[3] and the inhabitants be some Spaniards and some Portingalls, who have divers bond-slaves, both black men and women.

We kept this town nine days and no person came to resist us. When we had been there six days there came an Italian down whom we took to be a

[1] MS. 'ginnye nattes,' *i.e.* cocoa nuts.

[2] MS. 'joiynde.' Joined-work was an old term for wainscoting. *Halliwell and Wright.*

[3] MS. 'gynnye.'

spy and searched him, and found 50 pieces of gold in his buskins; he was the master-governor of the town. We kept him in prison and used a certain kind of torment to make him confess.[1]

The next day we took another and used him in like order. Then the first told us that in the Bishop's house was great store of treasure hid, which we presently searched but found none. Then he told us that they had carried all their treasure into the mountains.

The other confessed that there was certain ordnance and powder hid in the ground at another town not past six leagues off, which we found true.

During our abode there there was a gibbet set up whereon was executed one of our men, being steward of the Aid, for committing buggery with two boys in the ship.

The 6th day after we had been there, came a horseman to the top of one of the rocks that stood over the town and there was sent one to parley with him, and he promised that the next day the rulers of the island should come and speak with us, but they did not.

Then we made out a 700 men and took a negro to be our guide, which we brought out of England with us, that dwelt before in this island, and the general promised this negro that if we could take the Spaniard that the negro before was slave unto, then the Spaniard should be slave unto the negro.

Thus we went twelve miles further into the country to a town called St. Domingo, but the people seeing us afar off (for they had scouts) were afraid and fled, and misdoubting our coming long before had hid all their treasure, which we seeing set fire on the town and presently departed thence.

[1] This was, of course, the universal practice of the time in examining refractory prisoners of war, both ashore and afloat.

The people seeing the town on fire made a great cry among the bushes and weeds which we might very well hear. At this place we lost one of our men that went straggling to get pillage, with whom the Spaniards meeting cut off his head and ripping his belly took out his heart and carried them away, but let his body lie.

And as we were riding back about two miles we espied a number of horsemen, so near as we could guess, about 200; they began to make a show against us; then we began to bend ourselves towards them, which so soon as they perceived put out their flags of truce, but at any hand they would not come near us; so we came back again to St. Domingo with the loss of one man.

During our being there, there came three or four negroes whom we succoured and gave victuals unto. We found in the road seven caravels and one a building on the stocks. These ships had in them bread, wine, oil, sugar, marmalade, and suckets[1] with such like things, but we found nobody in them; they were made fast to the rocks, from whence we loosed them, taking their goods and sending them to the seas to go whither they would without anybody in them; the other new one we took in pieces and carried with us. Also there was certain plate of Lemman hid that we took away with us.

The Bishop of this town is of great wealth; he is carried to the church upon a bier[2] of silver with a very rich canopy over his head borne by eight or twelve men.

This silver bier is a thing of great value. The Bishop is very fearful of his life, for it is but 3 years since the town was spoiled by the Frenchmen, and they killed man, woman, and child. The Bishop was at that time taken, and by fair promises that

[1] MS. 'succatts.' [2] MS. 'barr.'

he would fetch them great treasure he escaped, though not without great fear, wherein he hath lived ever since.

The Frenchmen had from them at that time 50 pieces of brass ordnance.

Thus when we saw we could get no more we set the town on fire and departed thence to another town about six leagues off, called Praya.[1] But the people were all fled, so likewise we fired that town and went to the sea.

The 28th of November—all which month is extreme hot with them as the hottest time of summer is with us in England; they never have rain sometimes for three years together—we sailed forwards.

There is another isle within eight leagues of them called Fogo, of an exceeding great height, that doth burn continually that no man dare go to the top of it; there dwell both Portingalls and Spaniards in it, but the most there are negroes.

The 29th of November we set sail. Then had we 550 leagues to fall with the next land, and we had not been two days at the sea but there fell a great sickness amongst our men, not in one ship alone but in all the whole fleet, so that in the Admiral there were sick above an hundred men at one time, and there were about sixty men sick in the Vice-admiral at the same time, and so in other ships according to their number.

There died divers of this disease both in our ship and others, sometimes one, sometimes two or three in a day.

The 21st of December we fell with an island called [Dominica];[2] the people are all as red as scarlet. We anchored there to refresh our men; we found very goodly rivers there, and there we took

[1] MS. 'Prey.' Porto Praya.

[2] Blank in MS. supplied from the *Summary Discourse*.

in water for our need. We would have tarried there longer for to have refreshed our men, but we could find no convenient place to keep them in from the people of the country; for they are great devourers and eaters of men, and the isle is all woods.

We with our boat met with eight of these men at sea, who as soon as they espied us waved us unto them and put forth a flag of truce, being a cake of cassava[1] bread. We boarded them presently; their boat was a canoe that is made like a hog's trough, all of one tree. These people go naked without any manner of clothes about them. Their manner is when they kill any of their enemies they knock out the teeth and wear them about their necks like a chain, and eat [the] flesh for meat.

When we had boarded them as before they gave us a kind of bottle full of water and cassava bread that is made of a tree, and we gave them biscuit and a can of beer, which they did presently both eat and drink; and then we departed from them and went rowing close aboard the shore, where the people of the country came running to the waterside wondering greatly at us. Then we came to a goodly river of fresh water, and thither came six men of the country unto us, and amongst them there was one that commanded the rest. One brought a cock and a hen, another brought potatoes, another plantain fruit. They did swim over the river to us and came to our boat, and the captain caused a comb to be given them, which was done and the cock required for it, but they would not. Then the captain gave a looking glass to be given them, for which they gave their cock, and the captain enticed them to come into the boat, which one of them did and would have gone with us, but

[1] MS. 'cassado.'

that his companions called him and would not suffer him; so he leaped into the sea with his bow and arrows in one hand and swam to shore with the other. Then we departed from them for that time.

The next day we went to search further into the land, and the people ran along the seaside before us. Then the captain commanded a trumpet to be sounded, which done the people higher in the land gave a great shout and kept on whistling and blew a thing like a horn. Then they came to the seaside and shot at us. We sought for some good place, but found none to serve our turn, and so departed.

This isle is full of woods and bushes; we saw many of their houses; we found snakes of great bigness with newts and other venomous worms. Also we saw there many pelicans; there are potatoes, oranges, cocoas, plantains, cassava, and many kinds of fruits which we knew not.

On Christmas Even we fell with another island, called [St. Christopher's],[1] and landed there, refreshing ourselves with fresh water, and there stayed three days and saw no man but our own company, of whom divers were sick. We buried twenty men whilst we stayed there. This isle is very full of goodly trees of sweet wood, and there are great store of pelicans and many birds flying in the night. There are great snakes and crabs very big, that live in the ground, and other kind of things, like serpents, very strange.

The last day of December we took two barks at sea, bound for St. Domingo,[2] one was laden with sugar-chest boards, the other with beef and bacon, peas, tobacco, rice, hides, and other stuff; there were two Spanish merchants in them, and a woman

[1] *Summary Discourse.*

[2] MS. 'St. Dominico,' but the capital of Española must be meant.

negro with a boy, and a Greek. This Greek was our pilot for landing of our men at St. Domingo.[1]

The first of January in the morning, our men being landed seven or eight miles from the town and coming towards it, the Spaniards' horsemen made towards us, but they fled quickly unto the woods, and perceiving our men to march towards St. Domingo[1] they had planted three pieces of ordnance under the gate where our men should enter, and shot off one of them, killing three of our men; but before they could discharge the rest we ran so fiercely upon them that we drave them from their ordnance and they fled further into the town. All this time our ships lay still battering the town on the other side, and they, shooting at our ships, shot the Admiral quite through, but hurt never a man.[2] We lent them always two for one. Thus did this endure by the space of three hours, and after the ships perceived our men had entered the town they left shooting for fear of spoiling of us.[3] When our men had entered the town the Spaniards fled into the castle, which is with high walls, and it was almost night.

In the morning when we thought to have had the Spaniards in the castle, they were all gone and fled by night by certain boats which they had; for one part of that castle lay to a river which runneth into the land, and of that side they escaped.

Thus the Spaniards gave us the town for a New Year's gift. They had carried out their treasure and a great image of silver out of their church which was of great value.

In this town we had great store of wine,

[1] MS. St. Dominico. Greeks are frequently mentioned at this period as being 'pilots,' or navigating officers in the Spanish service.

[2] For the movements of the fleet see *post*, p. 79.

[3] From this it appears the writer was a soldier serving with Carleill's force.

meal, oil, cassava, cocks, hens and chickens, [so] that the very hens were valued at a £1,000, great store of apparel, spices, suckets, brass, pewter, iron, and all manner of things that do belong to a city. But that they had taken away their gold and silver and the best of their apparel, all things else was left.

The Spaniards sunk three ships upon the shallowest place of the harbour, for at the entry in of their harbour is but 14 foot water, so that none of our ships could enter at all. We found in the harbour a very fair galley; she had belonging unto her four hundred slaves, Turks, Moors, Negroes, Frenchmen and Greeks; she shot at us at our first coming in; her end was we carried her to the sea and set her on fire, and all her slaves we took with us.

After we had been there ten days they came to us with a flag of truce; the cause was for that we had in every street at the outside of the town round about made rampires and planted ordnance and guarded them with men; the cause why we set some of the houses on fire was for that they were out of the courts of our guard [1] and rampires. Then they came in and proffered money for redeeming of their town, but it was long ere they could agree of price; so for twenty d[ays] space they came in every day with flags of truce.

Now it chanced that a Spaniard came in near our courts [of] guard with his flag of truce on horseback, and the captain sent a negro boy to talk with him, and after they had talked together he took his

[1] This is the term approved for a guard-house by Sir William Turner. 'Watches being set,' he says, 'they should have houses. . . . These houses we ordinarily call courts of guard, which some do not like; but I think they are wrong, for a *corps de guard* in English signifies the body of the guard, which may be in an open field or street.' (*Pallas Armata*, 1683, p. 299.) Rampires are, of course, the works connecting the guard-houses.

staff and ran the boy through and rode away in haste, for he was without our courts of guard.

The next day when the Spaniards came in with their flags of truce they were told of it, and they said he should be hanged if they might know him, but it was not done. When the town was taken first we took two friars and certain Spaniards, and they were kept in prison for to be ransomed, and we by consent made a pair of gallows without the town where the Spaniards came daily, and hanged the two friars in lieu of slaying the negro boy.

The same day the Spaniards came and carried away the friars, and three days after they hanged the same man that killed the negro boy, where the friars were hanged.

We hanged an Irishman of our own company for murdering of one of his fellows privily. We tarried in this town a month; they would never come past twenty or forty against us, and that would be in the night. The time that we were there they would bring us in beef, sometimes twenty, sometimes forty oxen and sheep, sometimes an hundred, and more and less. Our men would fetch in oxen and sheep at pleasure.

There were so many dry hides in this town that it was wonderful great store, also of sugar, which we esteemed not, it was so plentiful.

There was in this town great store of copper money, more than 12 ton weight in some one house. I judge also there was in that town of black money an 100 ton. We took two or three tons of it with us to the sea. Also we took great store of hides away with us. We took also their bells out of their churches, and three ships out of their harbour, and left two of our old ships there for them. We had from thence 80 slaves, Turks, Frenchmen, Greeks and negroes. We had many pieces of brass

ordnance thence, and left not one piece behind us. We set part of their castle on fire and burned all their images of wood, brake and destroyed all their fairest work within their churches. We had in this town much plate, money, and pearl hidden in wells and other places.

This town standeth very pleasantly, and is of a very huge building. All the walls of their houses are like the walls of our churches, but higher, and such great doors, far greater than our church doors; with such cost of ironwork that it is wonderful.

There groweth great abundance of ginger, pepper, locusts and strange fruits.

All this isle is full of woods, also there are oranges, lemons, pomegranates and dates.

The Spaniards dare not go past ten miles' compass for fear of the Indians.

This is the chiefest town in all Hispaniola, and was first inhabited by the Spaniards. There they keep parliament for the king, and do the greatest business for Spain.

The eleventh day we came to an anchor at Cartagena,[1] and ten days ere we came thither they had warning of us and had carried away the most part of their goods, having fortified and made such rampires that it was impossible by man's reason for us to win. But God fought for us, for our ships could not come near the town for lack of water to batter it, and where our pinnaces should go in was but the length of two ships, and it was chained over from the castle with 16 pieces of ordnance in this narrow gutter;[2] yet we did attempt it, [so] that we had the rudder of our pinnace struck away, and men's hats from their heads, and the top of our mainmast beaten in pieces,

[1] The capital of Tierra Firme, or Golden Castille, afterwards known to the buccaneers as the Spanish Main.

[2] This was the entrance to the inner harbour from the lagoon.

the oars stricken out of our men's hands as they rowed, and our captain like to have been slain.[1] They had planted 16 pieces against us in the castle. Also they had planted two galleys and a galleass with ordnance, and another fort with 6 pieces, that we had not the length of a pike left us for passage to enter, and there were 400 horsemen and footmen in arms still bent against us.[2] The 2 galleys and galleass were well furnished with men and ordnance, and this was then their saying, as afterwards they did confess, that we should all die but 20 of the best, and they should be made galley-slaves, they did so presume of their fort and strength.[3]

Indeed it was not likely that any man of us should escape; but what God will have shall be done, who put it into our minds that we should enter upon them in the morn before day. Yet they were ready to resist us, and had set in the ground thousands of poisoned arrows, yet very few of our men received hurt thereby.

The Spanish horsemen met us without the fort very courageously, but our pikemen made them soon retire, and we followed so fiercely upon them that we made them forsake their fort.

The two galleys and galleass, with the other fort, did so ply their ordnance against us that it was wonderful; their calivers, muskets and harquebuses did

[1] This operation is elsewhere called a 'hot alarm,' and was probably intended only as a diversion to cover the true attack.

[2] This fort was defending the spit between the sea and the harbour, along which Carleill advanced. The galleys enfiladed it from the harbour.

[3] The Spanish official return of the garrison was—54 *jinetes*, *i.e.* mounted light-armed lancers, technically known in England as 'demi-lances'; 450 harquebusiers; 100 pikemen; 20 negro musketeers; and 100 Indian bowmen; besides 150 regular harquebusiers, belonging to the galleys.—Duro, *Armada Española*, ii. 396.

play their parts.[1] But God is all in all, by whose good help we made them fly into the town like sheep; but they galled many of our men in the town.

We lost in this skirmish 28 men besides those that were hurt, yet constrained the Spaniards to fly like sheep into the mountains.

Thus we enjoyed the town, but found little store of victual therein, the most we found was wine and oil. They had hid many things in the ground, which we found notwithstanding.

We fortified this town of our fashion, and planted their own ordnance against them.

Now, when our men had got the town, the Spaniards set fire on both the galleys because we should not enjoy them. And the slaves and Spaniards in the galleys fell together by the ears, so that the Spaniards killed many of their slaves, and some they took with them, and very many of them did swim to us. The Spaniards kept their castle still, yet at last on a sudden fled away. Then we brought our ships so near the town as we could, and the smallest of them went in and rode before the town. We kept this town five weeks and three days, and afterwards begun to burn the outsides of it, and then the Spaniards came in with their flags of truce to redeem their town.

They were building a great new church in this town, and by our shooting off a great piece of ordnance that stood near the church a great part thereof was shaken down.

When the Spaniards saw their church down, they said they would give no money for their town, for they esteemed their church more than the town.

[1] The galleys were under the veteran Don Pedro Vique Manrique, who, after wide and distinguished service in Europe, had been appointed 'general of the coast of Tierra Firme,' in 1578. Duro, *Armada Española*, ii. 397 *n.*

Then we began to burn more, so that at last they compounded and ransomed the same.

When the time was come that we must avoid the town all our men went aboard saving 200, and they went into a friary that stood a little without the town, and kept it certain days to see if they would ransom it; and even as we had laid wood to it and were ready to give fire, the prior came in and ransomed the same. Then we set the galleass on fire, and so departed to our ships.

We had in this town many pieces of brass ordnance. We left them not one piece behind, and the report went that the Spaniards would have given the weight in silver for ten or twelve of them. Also we brought away all their bells, and all other metals we could find.

This is a very pretty town, with six or seven churches in it. There is growing about this town oranges, lemons, pomegranates, citrons,[1] olives, pepper, locusts, with many other fruits.

There is also great store of fish; and it is very true that there are growing oysters and mussels on trees by the seaside. I have both gathered and eaten of them.

We left two small ships of ours behind us, setting them on fire, and we took two of their ships for them.

During the time of our abode there we lost a hundred men by sickness; we had many Turks, Frenchmen, Negroes, Moors, Greeks, and Spaniards went with us from this town.

All the while we were in this town the Spaniards gave us no fight, but they threatened us, showing themselves sometimes an hundred and two hundred in a troop, and shot at us, but soon would run away.

After that we were gone from the town, we remained ten days about two miles from the said town

[1] MS. 'cytherons.'

to take in water, so that we were there in all seven weeks.

The last of March we set sail from Cartagena, and when we had been two days at sea there fell such a leak in one of our ships that we were driven to go back again to Cartagena, and there to take out all our ordnance goods and other furniture, and so set her on fire.[1] There we continued fourteen days more.

Now, when we came again the Spaniards did marvel, and fled out of the town. Then the General sent them word what the cause was, and desired the governor of the town that they might bake bread there, and gave his word to the governor that none should come on shore but bakers, for our ships were five or six miles from the town. And the Spaniards for fear granted us all the ovens in the town. We were baking of biscuit there six or seven days, and the governor of the town received us with great courtesy, and made proclamation upon pain of death that no man should molest us, but to help us with wood, water, and all other necessaries, and to let us go when and where we would; and further commanded two Spaniards in every house where we did bake to suffer none to come unto us but those that we did like.

There was more than 2,000 Spaniards in the town. The Justice would come to us at all hours in the night and day to see that no man did us wrong, for they thought that we came ashore to pick a quarrel against them.

The 18th of April we set sail the second time from Cartagena, and the 22nd of April we fell with an isle that had no people in it.[2] There we found strange kinds of beasts, and killed more than twenty alligators. These be such serpents as have been

[1] This was the prize, 'New Year's Gift,' taken at St. Domingo.
[2] The Grand Cayman.—*Summary Discourse.*

in London to be seen. There were crocodiles, which did encounter and fight with us. They live both in the sea and on land. We took divers, and made very good meat of them. Some of the same were ten feet in length.

Also we killed other little beasts like cats and then little serpents about two foot long called guanos, with a great number of turtles of huge bigness, which served us for very good meat.

This island is a very desert and wilderness, and so full of wood as it can grow. We thought to have watered there, but could find none. We stayed there two days and set the woods on fire and so departed.

[The] 25th and 26th of April we sailed in sight of land, and came [to an] anchor at Cape St. Antonio,[1] where we thought to have watered. [Here] we found two frigates, which we set on fire and so departed [becau]se there was little store of water.

[The] last of April we gave chase to a small ship, but what [she] was we know not.

[The] 14th of May we came back again to Cape St. Antonio, and then found more store of water, and stayed there five days to refresh us.

The 19th day we weighed anchor and sailed alongst the coast, thinking to go to the Matanzas,[2]

[1] At the western extremity of Cuba. It was the most important strategical point in the Indies for operations against the American trade, commanding, as it did, the Yucatan channel, through which all the trade of the Spanish Main and Peru must pass to the rendezvous of the convoys at Havana, and also flanking the course thither from Mexico. It was the Cape St. Vincent of the West Indies, and the favourite cruising ground of the Corsairs.

[2] MS. 'Mantances.' Matanzas lies to the eastward of Havana. On May $\frac{19}{29}$, according to Captain Duro, Drake looked into Havana, but finding it too strongly garrisoned, retired to Matanzas. It is possible he still cherished a hope of destroying or occupying Havana, in accordance with his original plan of campaign. (*Post*, p. 73.)

and there to take a town, and by the way we took a caravel; the men forsook her and ran to shore. She was laden with salt. We came in sight of the harbour that we should have entered, but we could not for contrary winds.

The 23rd of May we put off into the sea for the Cape of Florida, and the 25th day we got sight thereof; and sailing along the coast the 27th day we fell in with a town called St. Augustine. There we went on shore in the morning, but could not enter the town, for they had warning of our coming and made a castle of pur[pose] for their defence against us, in such order that we must [first] win the castle before we could get the town; and our s[hips] could not come near the town to batter it; the water was shallow except it were a five or six miles from it, yet there was a goodly river running close by the town into the country.

The 28th day we took ordnance on shore to batter the castle, which stood on the one side of the river, and we were on the other; yet, when we had shot two pieces at them, like faint-hearted cowards they ran away. This was about midnight. Then came over the river to us a Frenchman and a Dutchman, who told us they were all fled.

Then the Admiral and Vice-Admiral went over with 20 men, and entering their castle found their words true. Then on the other side where our men lay, the savages and others came out of the woods, and with a very strange cry assaulted our men. But they were soon driven back, and our men following them into the woods, by mischance one Mr. Waterhouse, the captain's lieutenant[1] of our ship, was slain.

[1] The words 'unto Mr. Frobiser' are here erased. This is one of the earliest instances of the naval rank of lieutenant. It was introduced about this time, together with that of corporal, on the analogy of a land company.

The 29th day of May we entered the town, and the Spaniards gave us 3 or 4 small shot, and ran away, and in following of them Captain Powell was slain by a horseman and two footmen Spaniards.[1]

The 30th day, after we had taken the spoil of this town, we set it on fire, and so went to the castle, where we rested three days. In this castle we found a chest with the King's treasure, and hard by the castle we found a small caravel with certain treasure in her and some letters from the King of Spain, for she was newly come thence ; and further we found a li[ttle] child in her, which the Spaniards had left behind them for has[te]. We sent them the child, and they took her, but would not c[ome] to us for anything we could do.

There was nine of the savages set up a flag of truce about two miles from the town, which our men found and carried them another.

The second day of June we set fire on the castle, [and the] same night set sail from thence.

Also in that night we set fire on the caravel [which we] had taken by the Matanzas laden with salt, and took [the other] caravel along with us.

This town St. Augustine standeth in Florida. [Here is] as goodly a soil as may be, with so great abundance [of] sweet woods, &c. as is wonderful, with goodly meadows, [great] store of fish, oysters, and mussels, with deer and goodly fields of corn after their manner.

There was about 250 houses in this town, but we left not one of them standing. We found 40 pipes of meal in this place and much ba[d] but we found neither wine nor oil nor any other vict[ual] to make account of.

[1] Powell was major-general or chief of the military staff, and lost his life in a daring attempt to take a prisoner with his own hand for intelligence purposes.

We had in this town 12 great pieces of brass ordnance. This town had five weeks' warning before of our coming, and had builded this castle only for us, keeping 90 soldiers there in garrison. And there we understood that the Hyabans had burnt their town themselves, and had gotten 1,200 men to help them, thinking that we would come to them.

The wild men at first coming of our men died very fast, and said amongst themselves, it was the English go i that made them die so fast.

There are divers kings amongst them, and these kings are distant one from another, and they have many wives. They told our men of one king not far from thence that had 140 wives.

Our men killed the king of that place we were in, for that he with his people in one night had determined to murder all the Englishmen; and an Indian did betray the counsel. So we gave the king that for his pains which he would have given us.

They have a church with three images in it, and they speak with the devil once every year upon a high mountain. Also they are clad in skins, and they have a copper mine amongst them. And for the tag [1] of a point, a bell, a counter, a pin or such-like, they will give you anything they have.

Then we sailed along the coast of this land until we came to the place where those men did live that Sir Walter Raleigh had sent thither to inhabit the year before.

[Mr. Lane] and others, as soon as they [saw us, thin]king we had been a new supply [came from the] shore, and tarried certain days, and [afterwards we carried] thence all those men with us except two [who had gone furt]her into the country and

[1] MS. 'kagge.'

the wind gre[w so that] we could not stay for them.[1]

[The 10th] of June four of our ships were forced to [put to sea.] The weather was so sore and the storm so [great th]at our anchors would not hold, and no ship [of them all] but either brake or lost their anchors. And our [ship the] Primrose brake an anchor of 150 lbs. weight. [All the] time we were in this country, we had thunder [lightning] and rain with hailstones as big as hen's eggs. [There were] great spouts at the seas as though heaven and [earth] should have met.

[This] country is indifferent fruitful, and hath good [store of] fish with land turtles and (?) nice fruits and saxifrage, [which are] the best things in all the land that we know of; [the rest] after the report of the people would be too long. [Let this] suffice.

[The 18th] day of June 1586 we set sail, directing our course [to Ne]w-found-land and so homewards.

INDENTURE FOR THE DELIVERY OF ORDNANCE TO DRAKE

[Q.R. Exchequer Accts. Bdle 64, No. 9.] [2]

This Indenture made the seventeenth of July 1585, in the seven and twentieth year of the reign of our sovereign lady Queen Elizabeth, between the right honourable Ambrose, Earl of Warwick, Master of her Majesty's Ordnance General,[3] of the one part,

[1] Margins much torn; the words missing seem to have been longer or more numerous than those conjecturally supplied.

[2] For details of the guns, &c., mentioned in this paper, see Appendix A.

[3] The fact that this indenture was made with the Master of the

and the right worshipful Sir Francis Drake, knight, on the other part, Witnesseth that the said Sir Francis Drake hath received of the said Master of the Ordnance out of her Majesty's store of the Office of the Ordnance at the Tower of London, by virtue of her Majesty's special warrant, bearing date at Greenwich the twelfth day of June last past, 1585, for the furniture of two of her Highness's ships, viz. the Elizabeth Bonaventure and the Aid, sent in a voyage with the said Sir Francis Drake, these parcels of ordnance and shot ensuing with divers other furnitures to the same belonging and appertaining—the ordnance and stores being proportioned and set down in a schedule subscribed by Sir William Wynter, knight, and John Hawkyns,[1] esquire, Officers of the Navy, according to the effect of the said warrant, that is to say :—

For the Elizabeth Bonaventure. Demi-cannons

Ordnance General looks as if the department of Naval Ordnance instituted by Henry VIII. as part of the Admiralty had been already reabsorbed. It certainly did not exist after Sir William Wynter's death in 1589 (Oppenheim, *Naval Administration*, p. 149). It was possibly abolished in 1569, in which year it is known that Wynter surrendered some charge in connection with the Ordnance (see 'Charge and Discharge of Brass Ordnance, &c.,' *S.P. Dom.* clxxxvi. 23, and *post*, p. 309), from which it would appear some such reorganisation dates from 1569, for in that year a number of guns were delivered by him into the General Ordnance Department at the Tower. Mr. Oppenheim inclines to think he retained the office till his death, but in all documents of this time he is officially styled 'Surveyor of her Highness's Ships,' without the addition of 'Master of the Naval Ordnance,' and presumably the higher title would have been used if he had still held it. Since Mary's reign he had been Surveyor of the Ships as well as Master of the Naval Ordnance. De la Motte Fénélon, the French Ambassador, begins about 1569 to specially distinguish him from other officers of the Admiralty by the title of Vice-Admiral. No patent, however, creating him Vice-Admiral of England has been found.

[1] Hawkyns was Treasurer of the Navy.

of brass, four, weighing 161 cwt. 3 qrs. 14 lbs.[1] weight; cannon periers of brass, four, weighing 97 cwt. 3 qrs. 2 lbs. weight; culverins of brass, eight, weighing 268 cwt. 2 qrs. 16 lbs. weight; demi-culverins of brass, twelve, weighing 310 cwt. 15 lbs. weight; sacres of brass, six, weighing 98 cwt. 2 qrs. 1 lb. weight; minions of brass, one, weighing 12 cwt. 2 qrs. weight; falcons, three, weighing 22 cwt. 2 qrs. weight; port-piece-halls,[2] four, weighing 39 cwt. 2 qrs. 24 lbs. weight; chambers of brass to the same, eight, weighing 12 cwt. 2 qrs. 6 lbs. weight; fowler-halls of brass, two, weighing 11 cwt. 2 qrs. 23 lbs.; chambers of brass to the same, four, weighing 414 lbs. weight. Carriages furnished with truckles,[3] extrees, and linch-pins—viz. for demicannon four, for cannon perier likewise furnished four, carriages for demiculverins twelve, carriages for culverins eight, carriages for sacres six, carriages for minions one, carriages for falcons three, for fowlers two, for port-pieces four.[4]

[1] MS. has 'xvi. m. ciij. qrtrs. xiv. lib.,' which reads '16,103 qrs. 14 lbs.,' but this weight is impossible. The numeration is the same throughout.

[2] In breech-loading ordnance the *hall* was the main part of the gun, as distinguished from the powder-case, which was called the *chamber*, on the analogy of the great hall and smaller chambers of a Tudor house.

[3] The modern 'truck,' the wheel or castor of a sea-service gun-carriage; cf. 'truckle-bed.'

[4] The mounting of port-pieces and fowlers is thus described by Robert Norton (*The Gunner*, 1628): 'Instead of round trunnions, there are four square tennants cast joining with the chase of the piece, on either side two; which, being let into the block or carriage, holdeth the whole chase fast therein, leaving the cornice lying upon the ledge of the ship's port and triced up with a rope fastened about the muzzle. The tail of the carriage is to rest and to be shored up with an upright post or foot, full of holes, to slide up and down in a square mortice fitted thereunto, having a "shiver" (*i.e.* a grooved pulley wheel) at the lower end thereof, with two trestle legs morticed before under the block of the carriage. The foot with holes hath a pin to stay the piece

Ladles[1] for demi-cannon four, for cannon perier four, for culverins eight, for demi-culverins six, for sacres four, for minions one, and for falcons three. Sponges for demi-cannon four, for cannon perier four, for culverins eight, for demiculverins six, for sacres one, for minions one, and for falcons one. Staves for ladles twenty. Round shot of iron—viz. demi-cannon shot 140, culverin shot 370, demi-culverin shot 360, sacre shot 180, falcon shot 200, base shot 300, dice shot of iron 4,400.[2] Cross-barred shot for demi-cannon ten, cross-barred shot for culverins thirty, and for demi-culverins forty. Stone shot for cannon periers four score and for port-pieces three score and nine, for fowlers fifty-five. Heads and rammers of all sorts twenty and four. Linchpins spare ten pairs. Melting ladle one. Moris pikes nine,[3] blackbills four.[4] Crows four, sledges two. Quoins threescore. Bowsing tackles furnished two, talling hooks furnished two, ladle hooks eighteen, hooks for bowsing tackle two, pulleys double and single six. Truckles ten pair. Forms: for demi-cannon three, for cannon perier one, for culverin one, for demi-culverin two. Forms: for sacre one, for minion two, and for falcon one. Forelocks[5] for fowlers six. Extrees spare nine. Hollow shot of lead forty. Extrees spare nine besides the other twenty-seven. Forelock timber 24 foot. Breeching rope—viz. of 6-inch, four coils, weighing

upon any monture (elevation) assigned.' The recoil was thus apparently taken by the rope, which triced the muzzle up to the edge of the port.

[1] For loading the powder charge. Each nature of gun had its special ladle of a size to contain the proper charge.

[2] Cubical shot, used like the later grape and cannister.

[3] The Morris, Morrice, or Moorish pike, a shorter weapon than the ordinary infantry pike.

[4] An inferior kind of halberd.

[5] Forelocks were keys of wood or metal for fastening or locking the chamber in its firing position.

21 cwt. 3 qrs. weight ; of 5-inch, four coils, weighing 18 cwt. 2 qrs. ; of 4-inch, four coils, weighing 15 cwt. 2 qrs. 8 lbs., and of 3-inch, four coils, weighing 10 cwt. 3 qrs. 5 lbs. Rope for bowsing tackle and lashers,[1] two coils, weighing 6 cwt. 2 qrs. 10 lbs.

And for the Aid: culverins of brass four, weighing 141 cwt. 2 qrs. 12 lbs. weight; demi-culverins of brass four, weighing 95 cwt. 2 qrs. 23 lbs. weight ; sacres of brass ten, weighing 152 cwt. 2 qrs. 2 lbs. weight ; minions of brass four, weighing 45 cwt. 1 qr. 23 lbs. weight ; falcons of brass four, weighing 31 cwt. 1 qr. 27 lbs. weight ; fowlers of brass four, weighing 2,507 lbs. weight ; chambers of brass to the same eight, weighing 8 cwt. 1 qr. 7 lbs. weight ; bases of iron, with three chambers, two. Carriages : for culverins four, for demi-culverins four, for sacres ten, for minions four, for falcons four, for fowlers four. Ladles : for culverins two, for demi-culverins one, for sacres nine, for minions two, for falcons two. Sponges : for culverins two, for demi-culverins one, for sacres six, for minions two, for falcons two. Staves for ladles twenty-eight. Round shot : for culverin 90, for demi-culverins 80 ; sacre shot 328, minion shot 140, falcon shot 158. Cross-barred shot : for culverin ten, for demi-culverin twenty. Cross-barred shot : for sacre twenty-six, for minion twenty-six, and for falcon two. Stone shot for fowlers seventy-six. Heads and rammers twenty-six. Linch-pins twenty-two pair. Morrispikes ten, blackbills twenty. Crows of iron four, sledges three, pick-hammers two. Quoins sixty. Talling hooks furnished six, ladle hooks eight, hooks for bowsing tackle two, spikes eighteen. Truckles eight pair. Forms for car-

[1] 'Lashers are properly those ropes only which bind fast the tackles and the breechings of the ordnance when they are haled or made fast within board' (Boteler's *Sea Dialogues* p. 273).

touches: for sacre one, for minion one, for falcon one. Forelocks for fowlers ten, extrees twelve. Melting ladle one, commander one. Tampions three score. Skallops[1] for fowlers eight, skallop pins two. Budge-barrel one, tanned hide one. Breeching rope of 6-inch, one coil; of 5-inch, four coils; of 4-inch, four coils; and of 3-inch, four coils, weighing together 5,828 lbs. And rope for bowsing tackle and lashers, two coils, weighing 528 lbs. In witness whereof, either the parties aforesaid to these present Indentures interchangeably have put their hands the day and year first above written.

FRA. DRAKE.

MUNITIONS DELIVERED TO SIR FRANCIS DRAKE, KNIGHT, JULY 1585.[2]

[**S.P. Dom. clxxx. 56.**]

Mensi Julii 1585.

Anno Regino Eliz. 27°.

Powder and munitions delivered to Sir Francis Drake, Knight, by force of a letter directed to the office of the ordnance, signed by the Right Honourable the Earl of Leicester and Sir Francis Walsingham and by the Right Worshipful Sir

[1] This word does not occur in the text-books of the time. From the fact that it had a pin attached it is possible it was the 'foot with holes' which formed the elevating and depressing gear of a fowler carriage. See above, p. 29, note 4.

[2] Endorsement.—This paper presumably contains a list of what was issued to Drake in his capacity as a privateer, as distinguished from what he received by Indenture as Admiral of the Queen's ships. At f. 58 in the same volume is a note of powder delivered at the same time.

Philip Sidney, Knight,[1] with the values of the same, videlicet:

	£	s.	d.
Cannon corn powder, 7 lasts, at 10*d.* the lb.	700	0	0
Fine corn powder, 1 last di., at 11*d.* the lb.[2]	165	0	0
Match, 4,000 lb. weight, at 22*s.* the hundredweight.	44	0	0
Bastard muskets,[3] 100, at 23*s.* the piece	90	0	0
Bows, 200, at 4*s.* the piece	40	0	0
Arrows, 400 sheaf, at 2*s.* the sheaf	40	0	0
Halberts, gilt, 25 at 13*s.* 4*d.* the piece	16	13	4
Partizans, gilt, 50, at 13*s.* 4*d.* the piece	33	6	8
Boarspears, broad, and graven with roses, 50, at 10*s.* the piece	25	0	0
Boarspears, of the lesser sort, 50, at 4*s.* the piece	10	0	0
Long pikes, 400, at 3*s.* the piece	60	0	0
Short pikes, 100, at 2*s.* the piece	10	0	0
Black bills, 200, at 1*s.* 6*d.* the piece	15	0	0
Summa	1,249	0	0

SIR GEORGE CAREY[4] TO WALSYNGHAM

[**S.P. Dom. clxxix. 36.**—Holograph. Addressed.]

Sir,—My great proof of your good favour and acceptance of my unfeigned good will, long since

[1] By Patent dated July 21 Sidney had just been joined in the office of Master of the Ordnance with the Earl of Warwick. Walsyngham signed probably as Secretary of State.

[2] In this item the 'last' works out at 3,300 lbs.; in the first item, at 2,400 lbs.

[3] Presumably a compromise between the full-sized musket and the smaller caliver. The price should be 18*s.*, not 23*s.*

[4] Governor of the Isle of Wight, perhaps the most important

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professed and avowed to honour and serve you, maketh me not only bold to believe you love and wish me well, but also presume to repose a sure trust of your good favour as assured to pleasure me as occasion shall serve, and your goodwill ready to direct me by your opinion in all actions doubtful wherein I shall frankly desire your advice. The sundry reports brought hither (which by their coming is enlarged at the pleasure of the bringers,) that the King of Spain hath dealt so hardly with our merchants their ships and goods, and farther is in determination to give some new attempt against this realm, giveth not only myself, but many others occasion to think that her Majesty will not endure the injury unrequited, but procure amends and satisfaction either by public war or secret admittance of her subjects to take their revenge and recovery of their losses. Now whether the state of matters stand presently upon so hard terms or no, and whether course by her Majesty is most like to be taken, I humbly beseech your Honour's trouble to resolve and advertise me. If these unkind dealings offered break out into wars, the seat of this place may breed me some advantage to watch every opportunity of meeting the ordinary passenger barks freight with oranges, which under that small show doth often carry the Spanish pay into Flanders. If [there be] only a secret sufferance of her Majesty's subjects to take some revenge upon the King and his, then will I make suit by you and other my good friends to be admitted amongst the number of such adventurers as either will lose part of what they have or get more from the King of Spain. In the meantime, if I may have your word, it shall

post in the system of national defence. This paper is endorsed 'To know how her Majesty will revenge the arrest in Spain. Whether we shall visit Flud,' &c.

be warrant sufficient for me to prepare what by myself or friends I may against him.

That her Majesty shall not need to espy the faults of those which will venture their own to do her service, I think may well stand without breach of league, no less than Strozzi's attempt to the Terceiras by the French King winked at; and that her Majesty, during the interim of reconciliations to be made, suffer her subjects to repair their losses and yet somewhat to annoy the King without her private charge, in my poor opinion shall be both necessary and honourable.[1]

It may please you also to know that one Flood,[2] a valiant and skilful pirate, weary as he protesteth of his former trade, vowing to lead a new and better life, seeketh to come in upon my word, and maketh offer of his service to be employed upon all the coast of Spain to discover what is in action or intended against us, only craving to be victualled, and if hereafter he shall be found to deserve his pardon, then to have it; the which cost of victual I will with your good liking adventure to disburse, seeing nothing shall be hazarded but the loss of him, whose loss is of small importance, and whose present service may be of some value. So fearing I have been over bold and tedious, resting ready in all faithful goodwill to serve and honour

[1] He refers to the attempt by Strozzi under French patronage to establish Don Antonio, the Portuguese Pretender, in the Azores. Immediately after Drake's return from his voyage round the world, he had been engaged with Hawkyns, Leicester, and Walsyngham in elaborating a similar scheme with the view of establishing an advanced naval base at the rendezvous of the Spanish East and West India fleets. After much hesitation, the Queen finally refused to permit the attempt, and Don Antonio had retired in disgust to France. From thence he sailed with an insufficient force, and was defeated at St. Michael's by Santa Cruz.

[2] MS. Flud.

you, I commit you to the tuition of the only Almighty. From Carisbrooke Castle this 25th of June 1585.

Your Honour's assured to command,

GEORGE CAREY.

REGULATION AS TO LETTERS OF MARQUE

[**S.P. Dom. clxxx. 15.**—Endorsed.]

Articles set down by the Lords and others of her Majesty's Privy Council for those merchants, owners of ships, and others whose goods have been arrested in Spain, and have licence from the Lord Admiral to reprise upon the Spaniards according to a commission granted by her Majesty in that behalf.

1. In primis.—That all such merchants and others as desire to have letters of reprisal for the taking and detaining the goods of the subjects of the King of Spain shall first make proof before the Lord Admiral or his lieutenant, Judge of the Admiralty, that their goods have been stayed in such sort, and of all such losses and damages as they pretend themselves to have sustained by any stay or censure[1] of their ships, goods, and merchandises in Spain, Portugal, or elsewhere in the King of Spain his dominions.

2. Item.—That it shall be lawful for the said merchants and others to set upon by force of arms, and to take and apprehend upon the seas, any of the ships or goods of the subjects of the King of Spain in as ample and full manner as if it were in the time of open war between her Majesty and the said King of Spain.

3. Item.—That the said merchants and others shall give bonds before the said Lord Admiral or his lieutenant, Judge of the Admiralty, that they and

[1] That is, 'condemnation.' Cf. *Othello* v. ii. line 368.

every of them shall bring such ships and goods as they shall so take and apprehend to some port of this her Majesty's realm of England as shall be most convenient for them, and not [1] break bulk, before the vice-admiral of the same port or his deputy or other public officers of the same port be made acquainted therewith, that there may be presently a true inventory of the said goods taken, and a true appraisement made by some six honest men, inhabitants of the said port, and to return the said inventory and appraisement into the High Court of the Admiralty within six weeks then next after ensuing, as likewise not to attempt anything against any of her Majesty's loving subjects, or the subjects of any other princes or states in good league and amity with her Majesty, but only against the subjects of the King of Spain.

4. Item.—That after the said inventory taken, and appraisement made in manner and form above expressed, it shall be lawful for the said merchants and others to keep in their possession the said ships, goods, and merchandise, and to make sale and dispose thereof in open markets, or howsoever else to their best benefit, in as ample manner as at any time heretofore hath been accustomed by the law of reprisal, and to have and enjoy the same as lawful prizes, and as their own proper goods.

5. Item.—That all and every her Majesty's subjects or any other person who shall either in his own person serve or otherwise bear any charge or adventure, or in any other sort further and set forward the said enterprise according to these articles, shall not in any manner of wise be reputed or challenged for any offender against any of her Majesty's laws, but shall stand and be, by virtue of the commissions

[1] MS. has 'to,' but 'not' is clearly intended.

from the said Lord Admiral, free and freed as under her Majesty's lawful protection of and from all trouble and vexation that might in any wise grow thereby.

6. Item.—That it shall be lawful for all manner of persons, as well her Majesty's subjects as any other, to buy of the said goods and merchandise so taken and apprehended by the said merchants and others as aforesaid without any danger, let, hindrance, trouble, molestation, or incumbrance to befall the said buyers, or any of them, and in as ample and lawful manner as if the said goods had been come by through the lawful traffic of merchants, or as just prizes in the time of open war.

7. Item.—That the said merchants and others, before the taking of their commissions from the said Lord Admiral, shall give notice to the said Lord, or his lieutenant-Judge of the Admiralty, of the name of the ship, of her tonnage and burden, and the name of the captain or master of the same ship, with the number of mariners and men in her, and for how long time they are victualled, and also of their ordnance, furniture, and munition, to the intent there may be an account be made of the return of the ordnance.

8. Item.—That the goods, ships, and merchandise so taken as before, after an inventory and appraisement of them made in manner and form aforesaid, shall be equally divided into three parts, whereof one part to go to the merchants and owners of the ship or ships which shall take the said prizes, another part to the victuallers, and the third part to the captain, master, mariners, and soldiers of the said ship or ships.

Despatch

CARLEILL TO [WALSYNGHAM (?)]

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxiii. 10. 4-11 October 1585.**—Signed. No endorsement nor address.]

In the Road by Vigo, the 4th of October 1585.

Right Honourable,—Of our preparation to seaward I did write you particularly from Plymouth, after which time we had fair weather, but for the most part contrary and scant winds to bring us hither. In the way, a little before our coming to Cape Finisterre, even the day before, we met with a ship of some seven score tons burden, laden with fish, and come from the New-found-land, the chase whereof being undertaken, first by myself and after by the Admiral, was first spoken withal, and made to strike by my ship. But I did forbear to put any man aboard of her until the Admiral himself did send some of his own and mine together. The master and company of her do pretend the ship to be of St. Jean de Luz, and themselves to be all of that place and thereabouts within the borders of France; but they all confess—even the master himself, who is sole owner of her also—that the ship, being four years old, hath made none other voyage than four voyages to the New-found-land, and that every voyage she hath unladen and sold her fish every time at Passages and San Sebastian,[1] and that the ship stirreth not from thence, but rideth still there until the next season of going to fish again. And then, because victual in those parts is extreme dear, they use either to send for and provide their victual from Rochelle, or else to take it in their way with the ship, and so to victual her for her voyage from thence.

[1] In the margin is 'In Spain ☞'

Divers bulls of pardon from the Pope were found in her, which had been purchased by the men in the ship, whose names were entered in writing into such space and void places as had been left for the same purpose at the imprinting; and all the bulls were in the Spanish tongue.

All these things considered together, the General hath thus determined in himself that the fish being a special good provision for our voyage, which is somewhat more charged with men than he thought on, he will therefore take the fish for his service; and if, upon his return, it be evidently approved to be French goods, he will pay for the same.

Being fallen with the Cape,[1] we found some eight or nine sail of small French ships, which had carried (as it seemed) wheat to Lisbon, and were now returning homewards laden with salt, the provision whereof being thought greatly requisite in some better quantity than was yet made, it was resolved to take one of the barks; which accordingly was done, with intention that the General shall give order for the payment thereof. The rest of them were all presently discharged. She that was stayed is thought to be a meet bark for many services, being of some 40 or 45 tons, and is new.[2]

After our arrival into the road of the Isles of Bayona,[3] which happened the 27th of September, the ships being all at anchor, and the storm somewhat great, there came in amongst them—myself being then removed with four ships more to this place—a bark of 60 tons of St. Malo, laden with sugar, being come, as she pretends, from the Madeira. But it was found upon examination that the master of her

[1] Finisterre.

[2] The *Summary Discourse* in Hakluyt says she had been abandoned by her crew, that she was rechristened the 'Drake,' and afterwards duly paid for.

[3] The Cies Islets at the mouth of the Vigo River.

is slain, the master-gunner and some others slain, and another or twain of like importance sore hurt, being in their beds unable to stir; whereby it was rather presumed that she was some ship of war, and with stripes had gotten this lading from some Portugal or Spaniard; albeit by them it is pretended for excuse herein that this mischance happened by the breaking of a piece which was shot off at their coming from the Madeira for pleasure. But any sign thereof in any part of the ship, or any other evidence than their words, cannot be seen, nor found, and withal they have been seen throwing overboard in the night their papers, whereby they mistrusted (as it should seem) their matters might be detected. What will fall out herein I know not, and therefore cannot write the same as yet. Thus much of these matters, as they have fallen to my knowledge, I thought good to write your honour, although I must confess I would have more willingly wished them to taste none other than plain rencounters of mere English and mere Spanish.

Our putting in with this port was done upon these reasons and occasions. First, we doubted some stormy weather, which accordingly fell out to prove a very sore tempest, and of four days' continuance; and therefore we thought good, while it was yet fair and clear, to recover this harbour, doubting the contrary wind, which already was fallen upon us, growing to be any whit greater, would at least drive us to leeward of the cape, if it did not disperse us. [Second,] the refurnishing ourselves with water, the giving to many of our ships their needful wants out of the store, which store is dispersed into several ships, and was more hastily sent aboard than that it might be so orderly imparted to every ship, because the wind being fair upon our coming from Plymouth, we were loth to lose the

same for any small matters, coming so rarely as it doth there, and withal we not the most assured of her Majesty's perseverance to let us go forward. [Third,] the setting down some further direction to our people, I mean Articles of Order for their good behaviour both by sea and land. And lastly, which was not the least, to make our proceeding known to the King of Spain, if he may find and see more apparently that we nothing fear any intelligence he hath gotten by all the spials he hath either in England or elsewhere. And truly, were our soldiers so trained men as to know but some part of their order, I would think (if it might be so purposed) to make ourselves masters of his town of Bayona once within five days at the most, with the number which we have here, and the provision of munition which our ships are well able to spare and furnish.

But to show what is passed. It may please your Honour to understand that the 27th of last month, as is aforesaid, we anchored at the Islands of Bayona, being two leagues from the town of Bayona, and forthwith manned our pinnaces and our ships' boats, meaning to show our men and means to land them in good number together, and so, with a view taken of the place, to return aboard. But in the way, as we were rowing up to the townward, we met a boat, sent from the Governor of Bayona, with an English merchant in her, one Shorte or Sharpe, a man of ten or twelve years' residence in these parts, and with him some two or three Spaniards, whereof was a soldier of some judgment. Their instructions were thus: The Governor, seeing so many ships come to anchor together, sent them as his ordinary messengers in the like occasions, to see what ships they were, and whether they had any corn in them, whereof the country hath great need already, and is like to have a great deal more before it be long,

insomuch as they greatly feel a sore dearth to come amongst them. These men, as messengers, the General returned back again, and with them Captain Sampson, whom I brought with me out of Ireland and [who] was with me there all the time of my being there, but [I] could not have means to present him to your Honour during my last being in England, by reason of his long absence from London amongst his friends in the country.[1] Unto him was given this instruction—That since the Governor had sent to know what we were, he was to certify him that we were English ships sent from her Majesty to demand the cause of imprisoning her subjects, and taking the goods from them as if it were an open war. And in case it were the intention of the King of Spain to hold them thus by force and thereby to give cause of war, then we were to proceed accordingly with his as far as we might. We thought meet to send Captain Sampson because he is of good judgment, and able to certify the estate of the place and the people.

He began his message with question to know of the Governor whether he would make war or peace. 'For,' saith he, 'our General is come hither to your own home to let you have peace if you satisfy his reasonable demands; and with the contrary, to give you war to the uttermost.' Which vehemency he presumed to use the rather when he saw their weakness in every respect, and so

[1] Captain John Sampson was one of Carleill's two 'corporals of the field' or aides-de-camp. At the close of the campaign of 1588 he was given the command of the Hope in the Channel guard. Professor Laughton (*Defeat of the Armada*, ii. 182) suggests he had been her master under Crosse. But he was certainly a military officer. He was most likely not on the Hope at all until he was put in command, for he was specially chosen by Norreys to assist him in mobilising the south-eastern forces (*Foljambe Papers*, *Hist. MSS. Com.*, Rep. xv. v. 34). In 1589 he was Lieutenant-Colonel of Drake's regiment.

proceeded to the matter of our merchants' stay. Whereunto the Governor answered that to make war or peace between the two princes was more than his mean condition might do. Again, his commission stretched not so far. The merchants were not (as he said) under any arrest, but that they might dispose of themselves and their goods at their own pleasure. If the watering or any fresh victual of their country might stand our General in any stead, he was ready to pleasure him therewith, as one captain, in honest courtesy, might and ought to do to another, their princes being in league together.

In this meanwhile, the better to countenance the intention of the message, we advanced still with our pinnaces, and myself with some others being sent a good way before them all in five rowing small skiffs, to take the best view I might of the place, which I send herewith described as well as may be permitted for the present.

The General upon this answer put himself and his people on shore in a place of good assurance, and sent the merchant Sharpe to the town again for some of the English merchants, and withal to tell the Governor that if his answer would be approved true, then of his part he would likewise use all peaceable means, and therefore he could wish that the Governor should come himself unto us, for the better conclusion of all things. Whereunto was returned by the said Sharpe, and other merchants who came with him, that the next day the Governor would come himself to our General and make that firm conclusion which were requisite.

By this time it was midnight; and the weather threatening to alter, we presently altered determination, and shipping ourselves and people again returned with all speed to our ships, whenas the storm began and put some of the pinnaces

to their shifts; and the next day grew to be so great that albeit we rode under the lee and favour of the island, yet many of our ships made very foul weather, insomuch that the bark Talbot, the bark Hawkyns,[1] and another small bark with a caravel, the said bark being called the Speedwell,[1] were all forced to leave the road by losing their cables; and, as we understand now, the Talbot with her pinnace did put into Pointa Fedra, where they be safe, a good harbour, distant from the Islands of Bayona some two or three leagues. [*In margin*, The bark Hawkyns came in again with great hazard. The Speedwell is as yet unheard of.]

The day following, the storm being for some time a little assuaged, and the General advertised of a caravel or twain that should be gotten up the river or sound above Vigo, wherein might be some good things for our relief, it was thought convenient to send after them some three or four good ships; which being appointed to be mine, the Thomas, the Francis, and the Galley, with our pinnaces, they were all committed to my charge.[2] We beat up as far as was convenient, but found none other but some

[1] Neither the bark Hawkyns nor the Speedwell appears in Cates's list. She may have been the Hope, which was also called the Hope Hawkyns. There was, however, another bark Hawkyns serving in Drake's squadron in 1588. The Speedwell returned to England and was refitted, but never rejoined. (See *post*, p. 91.)

[2] Carleill's ship was the Tiger of 200 tons. The Thomas was a ship of the same tonnage belonging to Sir Francis Drake and commanded by his brother Thomas. The Francis was probably also his, and was commanded by one of his oldest and most devoted followers, Tom Moone. He was with Drake in 1573 as carpenter of the Swan, and on the Voyage of Circumnavigation as captain of the Benedict. The galley was probably the Duck galliot, commanded by Richard Hawkyns, afterwards famous as Sir Richard, 'the perfect seaman.' The first-class or decked pinnaces were apparently four in number.

bad caravels, the one laden with hoops and wood, another with salt, and the third with onions and garlic. Many boats we found, laden with the household stuff of such as dwelt near the water side, fleeing up into the highest and shallowest water, where, amongst others, fell to my hands one wherein was laden a chest with the furniture of the high church of Vigo. All the copes and plate were in it, whereof one cross was as much as a man might carry, being very fine silver of excellent workmanship, and all gilt over double. The whole plate which was in the said chest, as well the crosses as other things, could not have cost less, or so little, as 500 marks. But the next morning, the 1st of October, the General with his fleet came up to our harbour, being far more quiet and safe than the islands.

Before his coming there was a ship or twain without my knowledge had put their men on land, and by chance had lost a man, who, straggling from his company, was killed in a house by some peasants, as was to be judged at some time of advantage. The man lost was none of our fleet, but of the George Bonadventure,[1] a ship of war of London, whom we met withal upon the coast. I sent Captain Sampson to retire these men from the shore, with some 80 men of my own ship and another, who was rencountered with 200 of the Spaniards, many of them shot,[2] some pikes, and some other weapons. They had two or three slain, and of ours one hurt with a shot in the arm; and so they retired without any more hurt done.

The next day [*in margin*, 2 Octobris] the Governor of Bayona came to the shore side, and with a white flag waved unto us. The General sent

[1] She belonged to the Levant Company and served against the Armada (*Defeat of the Spanish Armada*, ii. pp. 328, 338).

[2] *I.e.* musketeers or harquebusiers.

to the shore to know what they demanded, which was assurance to speak with him; and the same being promised, two pledges were required for the Governor and some other gentlemen to embark themselves into one of our own boats to confer with the General upon the perfecting of the composition which the other day had been begun between them. Captain Crosse and Captain Erizo,[1] desiring to be employed for pledges, were upon their own requests appointed thereunto. And so the Governor, putting himself into one of our boats, came to meet our General half-way between our ships and the shore; where the Governor, leaving the boat wherein he came from the shore and entering into the General's boat, he desired to be private. Whereupon we, who came with the General from his ship, went all into the other boat to the Governor's company, saving Captain Frobiser, who stayed with the General. And there they concluded between themselves that peace should be wholly entertained of all parts, and that restitution should be made of all things which might possibly be found, the two pledges of ours to remain with the Governor, and to appoint a couple from him, which he did presently out of the company that came there with him; and so, after an hour spent, we parted, he to the shore and we to the ships with his pledges, which were two young gentlemen of good calling, dwelling at Vigo and thereabout.

The day following[2] came sundry other gentlemen aboard to view and see our ships; and our people went in like sort to the shore and furnished themselves of water, the weather for the most part continuing very wet, insomuch as we could make

[1] Captain Robert Crosse (Bark Bond), afterwards Sir Robert Crosse, a distinguished flag-officer of the later years of the war, and Drake's Vice-Admiral in 1588; and Captain James Erizo, Erisey, Elisey, Elizey, Elises, &c. (White Lion).

[2] *I.e.* October 3.

no despatch of any other thing almost, more than watering; at least wise what was done was the worse for the rain that fell, and the wind still as contrary as might be.

In the road under the Isles of Bayona, the 10th of October 1585.

Two days since[1] we turned down from Vigo to this place, and yesterday the weather growing somewhat fair, but the wind still contrary, Captain Frobiser and myself were sent towards Bayona with three pinnaces, and with us the Spanish pledges that we might demand and bring aboard our own pledges, and deliver the Spaniards. The Governor himself was content to come and bring our English pledges with him, and upon our coming from our pinnaces in a small rowing boat of our own, to meet us in a like small rowing boat of his, which done, the pledges on both sides were delivered. Touching our merchants, he gave his word that this day they shall come unto us all that would, and their goods they should dispose at their own pleasure. Divers of the merchants, as it is thought, will rather choose to remain than to withdraw, because they cannot retire their goods or substance with them, the same consisting in debts due unto them by sundry of the country people, and the times of payment to come, some at two months, some at three or four months hence.

Our two captains which were pledges do assure us that they have assembled some thousand men, whereof seven or eight hundred to be very well furnished soldiers of sundry garrisons drawn together; and that this night there is expected the arrival of a bishop, who brings with him six or seven hundred more.

This morning the wind is growing a little

[1] *I.e.* October 8.

northerly, which threatens our departure from hence, and so to leave this bark, which must convey these letters, being of London, and came hither to have laden herself with fruits, as also to work what means she might to release a small flyboat that was here arrested before. The bark is called the Jonas,[1] and the master Titus Johnston. If this bark do happen to keep company any longer with us, and if there fall out any other thing worth the writing, it shall be added. In the meanwhile I take my humble leave, and beseech the Almighty to send your Honour all happiness. Aboard the Tiger, this 10th of October, 1585.

The 11th ready to set sail.

Yesterday the wind scanted again, and no merchants nor any other came from the shore.[2]

Most bound to do your Honour all service,

CHRIST. CARLEILL.

EDWARD WYNTER TO WALSYNGHAM

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxiii. 49.**—Signed and addressed, with seal. Endorsed in Thomas Edmund's hand, October 14, 1585.]

Sir,—In discharge of part of the unfeigned duty I owe you I have presumed to write these few lines, which I beseech you humbly to accept of, and think whatsoever favours it hath vouchsafed you to show me I will be thankful for ever.

To recite all the particulars happened since our departure from Plymouth were but to let you from greater cares. Notwithstanding thus much I

[1] Of 50 tons. Served as victualler in 1588.

[2] Wynter's despatch which follows is dated October 24, 'at anchor by Vigo in Gallicia,' as though they were weather-bound for a fortnight longer. It is probably a mistake, for by the Log attached to the *Summary Discourse* the wind came fair at NNW on the 11th, and they sailed, sighting the Canaries on the 24th. Carleill's letter was evidently closed and signed in great haste.

have thought good to acquaint you with, that the 23rd of September we fell with Cape Finisterre, and from thence went directly with the Isles of Bayona, within a quarter of a mile of which town we landed with 700 men strong, thinking to have entered with our forces; but so honourable were the conditions of peace offered to our General by the Governador Don Pedro de Almudos that as well himself as the rest of us thought it in judgment better policy to accept them than to have entered the town (being otherwise furnished than we imagined) with assured loss. From thence, having in the entry of the bay endured a dangerous storm of three days, and besides being there no fit place of watering for so great a fleet, we went higher up the river to a town called Vigo, directly standing upon the same, whither came down eight or nine ensigns of the enemy with purpose to have letted our landing for water (which was one principal cause why we put in here); where after some light skirmish, having lost four or five of their men and we one, belike mistrusting their forces, the Governador sent to parley with our General; which being granted he met us half-way between the shore and our ships in a skiff, which was sent him, with far less mistrust than is commonly seen either in soldiers or any of his kind or calling. The conclusions was this: we should safely water, whatsoever necessaries we wanted should be ministered unto us according to the ability of so barren and poor a country as is Galicia, and lastly that our English merchants with their goods whatsoever might depart at their own choice and liberty. With other accidents that shall happen I will, God willing, acquaint you as opportunity and time will permit. In the meanwhile and ever I desire earnestly to remain in your good favour, which I will be most glad to continue with all duty and affection.

From aboard the Aid, riding at anchor by Vigo in Galicia, the 24th of October.[1]

Your Honour's most dutifully at commandment ever,

EDW. WYNTER.

EXTRACT FROM INTERCEPTED LETTER

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxiii. 28.**—Deciphered. Copy.]

* * * *

From home I can give you no occurrence of the Indian fleets, that only being arrived that cometh from Mexico, the others from Peru and the East Indies not yet heard of. God grant that Drake have not met with them, for upon advice of his going to sea all foreign ships were stayed in all the ports of Spain and Portugal. Nevertheless all the English that were at Lisbon be since licensed, and departed upon suit of the City and country to the number of above 30 vessels, and after them as many Flemish got away by stealth without licence, for which some of the City are punished since that were of their counsel. In all other parts they are yet stayed. Of the King's return from Arragon no speech yet. And so to God I commend you, and myself right heartily unto you. The 29 of October '85, you know where and by whom.

I cannot yet learn whether Brother Anthony be alive or dead, nor what was Ingram's executor, or had that little which he left behind him, for he had certain books of mine when he went to my Lord's service of whose re-delivery I was never advised.

Since this was written the first advice is come that Drake hath played the dragon upon the coast

[1] See preceding note. This was the last despatch received at home before the return of the expedition at the end of July 1586.

Galicia and Portugal, from whence he hath taken sundry ships and galleys, and put so many soldiers on land at Bayona as the opinions be yet doubtful whether he hath taken it and sacked it, or be forced to return by country people. And it is said that Don Antonio is with him.[1]

Copy to Hargate from Inglesfield.

'SPANISH ADVERTISEMENTS'

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxv. 16.**]

From Dartmouth, 10th of December 1585.

Since the writing hereof here arrived in the harbour a merchant that came from Lisbon, one Walker Squior, who arrived here as upon the 10th of this present of December at night, who brought news that there is in Lisbon upon 80 sail of hulks from one hundred tons to 800 tons, of Holland, Zeeland, and Hamburg. And there is above 20 galleons of the King's between 500 and 300 tons. And 40 sail of Biskay ships from a 100 to 500, of which 40, 20 were in road and the rest about the dock. And that the report goeth that there cometh to Lisbon 30 thousand Tedescos, 20 thousand Italians sent by the Pope, and 5 thousand Spaniards, old soldiers and gentlemen, 7 thousand Porting-galls granted by the Chamber of Lisbon, and that these navies are making ready with all expedition and minds to come as they say for England, and that their first port shall be the Isle of Wight. Moreover, he saith that at Seville they be making ready of tents and pavilions fit for the army, so that he minds and pretends some great enterprise. Moreover, he saith that there is wanting two of the

[1] Don Antonio, Prior of Crato, the Portuguese Pretender, was at this time a refugee at Drake's country house, Buckland Abbey.

ships that were bound for the Indies, and that the one of them is thought to be more worth than all the rest, and she which brings the Negro King with her. Moreover, the Galleon of Malacca is bound for the Indies, and is ready to depart with the first fair wind, and is laden as he saith with reals, and is thought to be worth 800 thousand ducats. I would to God it were our good fortune to meet with either of them to see if we could fight or no, and if it please God we should take them or one of them, then I would to God thou wert a sharing with us. Moreover, there is 4 galleasses to come from Naples to meet with the fleet at Lisbon, and they are appointed to be ready by the 5th of March at the farthest.

NOTES OF PUBLIC BUSINESS

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxv. 32.** Holograph in Burghley's hand.]

25 December.

Matters to be imparted to her Majesty.

For de Grytre[1]: 50,000 crowns is in sterling money, at 6*s.* $2\frac{1}{4}$*d.* the crown, 15,400*l.*

1. Condition of delivery upon Casimir's[2] taking upon him the charge.
2. Assurance of repayment by the King of Navarre.
3. Assurance that the army shall not return without a peace be made.

To send to the King of Denmark to declare

[1] Probably the Sieur de Guitry, or Guitery, a Privy Councillor of Henry of Navarrewh o at this time had a mission to raise troops in Germany. Baird, *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, i. 390. He had been active in the cause since 1574 (see Foreign Calendars *passim*).

[2] Duke John Casimir, brother of the Elector Palatine, who had previously made a diversion in favour of the Protestants with a force of German mercenaries in English pay.

to him how cunningly the merchants of Danzig, Lubeck and other ports on the east side of the Sound have this summer time made great provision of grain and other victual and of all things belonging to shipping, and carried the same to Spain by passing the north of Scotland and west of Ireland; to require him to consider how hereby the King of Spain hath been furnished for his navy which he hasteneth to lend all his forces (?) to annoy us and also to aid the French King and the Guises that are in league with the King of Spain against the King of Navarre.

To consider how all further like provisions might be stayed during all this spring until June.

The contract betwixt the Queen's Majesty and the States is to be considered as her Majesty shall appoint. There is an article that maketh provision for the furniture of the two towns of Flushing and Brill with all necessary ordnance, powder and match, as the Governor-General shall appoint.

There are Commissioners in Kent charged to suffer no victuals to pass from any port into any foreign parts.

Letters are written to charge them with the escape and to command them to repair to every port to enquire by all means possible of any offence committed and to offer secretly some reward to any that will discover it.

Ortel hath brought certain articles from the States to be communicated with her Majesty for her pleasure to be known concerning the manner how the ships of the merchants of Holland may be employed with a trade of merchandise to other places than to those towns possessed by their enemies.

For Ostend. According to the Earl of Leicester's letters written to the Commissioners of Kent for victual for Mr. Th. Walford, order is given to the

Commissioners to cause one Mr. Ager to send unto Mr. Walford a quantity of wheat, malt, beer, and sea-coal for the strengthening of the place. The Earl of Leicester is to charge the States to furnish it with needful munition and a greater number of men, and to yield money for the pay of them and for building of strengths to defend it.

For to impeach the provisions of Spain: there must be a consultation to make the Queen's Navy ready to be at Portsmouth before the 20th of March. Order to stay all warlike ships belonging to merchants and to have them ready.

The Earl of Leicester is by Nicholas Gorges and some other Englishmen to procure a perfect survey of all ships belonging to every port in Holland and Zeeland and of all mariners and also to take order with the States to put in readiness according to their promise a number of ships of war to join with the Queen's Navy to be ready by the last of March. Mr. Pelham is commanded to go to the Earl of Leicester, who protesteth himself not able to go to serve in any office, but to serve as a private person he will obey her Majesty.

There Mr. H. Killigrew is charged also to depart, who so will do with the next shipping.

The contents of a private advice given to her Majesty in writing is considered, and thereof her Majesty shall be acquainted for Corfe Castle. It is resolved that Mr. Rich be licensed by her Majesty's warrant to put that Castle in strength. Letters shall be written to the Archbishop of York for Rob. Lea.

There hath been a conference with the officers of the Navy, whose requests are in a paper apart.

The officers also of the Ordnance have delivered their demands in a writing apart.

Order also shall be taken, to have a register of all the gunners, both serving her Majesty in the

ships and in forts and of others serving merchants, to as yearly they shall be viewed, that none depart the realm.

Order must be taken how to describe a convenient army to serve her Majesty's person as case shall require.

And also to defend all maritime parts, of which matter many several things are to be thought of.[1]

INTELLIGENCE

[S.P. Dom. clxxxvi, 11.]

Certain notes taken out of some letters written from Lisbon, in a ship of Emden, which arrived in the port of Plymouth the 7th of January, 1585.[2]

1. John Claus, a Dutch merchant, writeth to his brother Peter Claus, in Delft, that the King of Spain hath stayed and taken up all the masts for shipping, both great and small, so that there is likely of wars. Dated at Lisbon the 22nd of December, 1585.

2. A letter written to Daniel Hoskyn from Seville to Lisbon, advertising that there were five Spanish ships taken by Englishmen coming from Santo Domingo; and that the King hath taken up all the masts for provision of shipping.

And that they do hear that the Queen of England hath taken the Low Countries into her hands.

And that there is so many ships of war upon the coast of Spain that it is very dangerous to pass. Dated the 10th of December last.

The writer of this letter writeth not his name.

3. A letter written from St. Lucar by one

[1] A number of disjointed memoranda are jotted down on the back.

[2] *I.e.* 1586, new style.

Matthew Downe, a Flemish merchant, to Ember Policornus, of Middelburg, that there departed from St. Lucar the 7th of December twelve ships laden with oils, wines, and fruits for Zeeland. Dated the 7th of December, ut supra.

4. By a letter written from Lisbon from Daniel Flamy to Adam Flamy his brother at Delft, it is signified that the English men-of-war have taken the number of thirty ships coming from Brazil and other places. And that the said men-of-war do daily take more ships continually, so that it is not possible for any merchant to travail. Dated the 18th of October, 1585.

5. A letter written from Lisbon by Hans Menegen to Hans Ellers, of Hamburg. That the shipping of Hamburg that be at Lisbon will come home by the North, because of the bad news in England. Dated the 9th of December, 1585.

In the 3 letters enclosed there is more news.

Extracted per J. S. BLAND.

ADVERTISEMENTS OUT OF SPAIN[1]

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxvi. 19.**]

13 Jan., 1585,[2] from St. Sebastian.

As for train,[3] I think we shall have none this year. Those ships that have come home have in a manner brought none this year. The rest of the ships that want whales are greatly doubted that they will not come home this year, which if they do not come home it will be no sending home of train.

This year they do make account not to send their

[1] Endorsement. [2] *I.e.* 1586, new style.
[3] MS. 'Treynes,' *i.e.* train-oil.

ships for Newfoundland, so that of force train will be dear. Neither do I know how they can, for here is no corn to be had. Wheat is here in great request, and worth 22 reals their 'hanegg'[1] or none to be had. The poor people cry out of this embargo. In this place as yet is no pretence of war. They say in Lisbon is an army making ready, but I do not hear it of any great certainty.

About the 16th of January, 1585, from St. Lucar.

It is reported by one that came lately from St. Lucar that there was 40 sail purported to go for the Indies, whereof 4 of them were spoiled with fire by themselves, one of them being the great French ship that was taken at the Terceiras, so as there went but 36, of the which there are 6 galleasses[2] that went for men of war, and the rest very well appointed.

INTELLIGENCE

[S.P. Dom. clxxxvi. 20.]

Spain, 16th January 1585 (*i.e.* 1586).

The King of Spain lay at Saragosa, where his daughter was married, and went from thence to Monzon, in Aragonia, being 16 leagues off, and there called a parliament about the 10th of July, to which came the seigniors and governors of Aragonia and Valentia, in which parliament the King caused to be moved that they of those countries

[1] The Spanish *hanéga* is given by Minshew as 'a measure containing a bushell and a halfe.' William Melsam, however (see *infra*, p. 62), says 12,000 'hannecks' = 2,400 quarters, thus giving 5 *hanégas* to the quarter of 8 bushels, which makes the *hanéga* a bushel and three-fifths.

[2] These were not true galleasses. They were probably some of the new galleons of the Indian guard.

should be sworn to his son, which they would not agree unto till his son were of age.

They of Aragonia did refuse also, and deny the Inquisition from the Pope.

The news of Sir Fra. Drake being at Bayona came unto the Court the Wednesday sevennight after his arrival there, which arrival was the 12th of October.

The King of Spain was very sick at Monzon, and was let blood three times. There died there of the plague between a hundred and six score gentlemen of his own house, and thereupon he removed about the 24th of September to Barbastro, two leagues from Monzon.

The Council of Spain were much out of tune when they heard of Sir Fra. Drake being at Bayona.

The Secretary called Don Juan de Idiaquez [1] and the Conde de Virata, Chief Justice, asked whether the Queen's Majesty had no ways to employ Sir Fra. Drake but to send him to make demand of the delivery of the English men, ships, and goods. But divers of the Indian captains and governors that were returned from thence said they did fear he was sent for the Indies, which did not a little trouble their Council, for they set upon that matter only, Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday.

The Secretary and the Count of Virata in talk did demand whether the Queen's Majesty of England did know the King of Spain's forces, and whether it made not her and her people to quake? It was answered the King having taken all Flanders and the Low Countries might easily win England, whereunto they answered—'A vengeance on it! there were too many teeth.'

[1] MS. Don John Jacques.

The King of Spain sent 12 'Armathoes'[1] to conduct home the Indian fleet; [who], for that the fleet stayed at the Islands[2] six or seven weeks longer than ever they were wont, the Armathoes returned back, and so the Indian fleet came home unguarded, saving only their own company, which might easily have been taken.

The King of Spain, hearing of Sir Fra. Drake passing away, hath stayed the first Indian fleet that should have been set forth for this year, and doth mind to send both the fleets for the Indies together.[3]

The King's Secretary called Don Juan de Idiaquez and the Conte de Virata did in talk say that the Queen of England had done the King of Spain much harm, as though they would make show of some end for peace, but they openly publish and declare that they will this year come for England and Ireland, but they think to do most good upon Ireland.

Upon the coming of Sir Fra. Drake the King directed letters to the Marquis of Santa Cruz[4] to arm to the seas 16 sail of great ships for the defence of the coast.

There was stayed at Lisbon and those places thereabouts 125 sail of hulks, whereof 24 stole away, and one of them was taken and brought back again.

[1] A common English corruption of the Spanish *Armado*, meaning thereby a large armed ship or man-of-war. The word does not seem to have been commonly used in this sense by the Spaniards themselves. It is not given in Minshew's English-Spanish Dictionary of 1599. It was also wrongly used in England for 'Armada.' See *Defeat of the Armada*, i. 13 *n.*

[2] That is, the Azores.

[3] Two convoys sailed yearly from Seville (San Lucar) for the Indies, one known as the Flota de Tierra Firme, for the Spanish Main, Central America, and the overland Peruvian trade; the other the Flota de Nueva España for Mexico.

[4] Alvaro de Bazan, Marquis of Santa Cruz, first commander-in-chief of the Great Armada.

The King of Spain prepareth a great Army and Navy, as well of galleys as of ships.

The fleet of 'train' men[1] were not come home the 27th of November, neither was there any news of their coming.

There was, the said 27th of November, no preparation made in Biscay either of men or shipping.

There is four ships of Biscay laden with Spanish wool for Rouen which are now at sea, and would be easily taken.

It is published that the King of Spain, the French King, the Pope, the Duke of Savoy, the Duke of Guise, and the Emperor of [[2]] have confederated to extirp and overthrow all the Protestants, and this is set forth in print, and this was seen in Sir Fra. Inglefield's house in November, and this was agreed on at Monzon in August.

The Emperor is about to marry his son to Donna Isabella of Spain.

Intelligence

WILLIAM MELSAM TO [THE COUNCIL]

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxvi. 54.**—Holograph.]

Honourable, your poor orator William Melsam wisheth your health with increase of honour and dignity in your Honours' proceedings. It may please your Honours to understand that on Saturday last, being the 29th day of January, I was before your Honours to advertise you of the news in Spain. Whereas I left unspoken of some things of the

[1] *I.e.* the whaling fleet. See *supra*, p. 57-8.

[2] Blank in the MS.; but in the margin is written 'that married the King of Spain's sister,' by which may be meant either the Emperor or the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

King of Spain's prevision and doings, it may please your Honours to understand that he hath taken up in Xeres[1] 12,000 hanecks[2] of wheat, which is 2,400 quarters English, which was put to grinding in every town thereabouts—and the mills kept with officers—that the poor had much ado for to safe-get[3] any corn ground for their own turn, to make their bread. Also he hath taken up much wines for his provision, in quantity I cannot well show you. Also he hath trimmed certain boats—which he made when he went to take Portingall; the value of 40 boats which are to land people, or to make a bridge, and there they be ready in Port Saint Mary, housed. Also he hath trimmed great store of carriages for great ordnance, to the number of 200 carriages, and in Cadiz[4] lieth ready. Also he hath his fleet, which came from the Indies,[5] at home in Seville and in Cadiz, which may be in number, small and great, 116 sail; more, the King hath stayed in Lisbon and Setuval[6] 100 sail of hulks, what quantity of Portugal shipping I know not—his galleys were all in the Straits, saving 18, which were, nine in Port Saint Mary, and nine in Lisbon. Their saying is that the Pope doth send the 50,000 men out of his diocese which shall come with 12 galleasses and other shipping. More, the King of Spain prepareth other 50,000 men, [for] which he hath taken up many soldiers in the country, as the poor people saith; also when his galleons came home the soldiers were sent up into the country, for that there should be no show in port towns.

Moreover, they report that there shall come out

[1] MS. seems to have 'shores.'
[2] See note *supra*, p. 58.
[3] *I.e.* to keep. MS. 'save gott.'
[4] MS. Calles. [5] MS. Yngees. [6] MS. Saint tovalts.

of the Straits a hundred sail of galleys and galleasses, or with their other shipping. They do give out speech that they do mean for to land in the Isle of Wight 50,000 men, more 50,000 men into Ireland, 50,000 men also in the backside of Scotland, to land other 50,000 men; for the one of these three armies the Pope hath ordained that the King of France or Duke of Guise should make ready. Moreover, they say that the King hath more friends in England than the Queen's Majesty, which is a grievous hearing. God preserve her Grace, and send her long to reign and to confound her enemies. Amen.

Praying your Honours to remember your poor orator, William Melsam, which hath been often hindered in that country—as first in Anno –74 I was taken to the Inquisition House with Roger Hanken, of Harwich, and was kept prisoner until Anno –77, at my costs and charges, which stood me in one hundred pounds, besides my time lost. Moreover, I was taken afterwards for the fact[1] of Thomas Hanken, and Clenton Atkenson, and Phillip Boyte. Then I received hindrance to the value of 30 pounds in things purloined[2] from me when I was in prison; more now in this embargo to the value of 118 pounds; which may be that I was hindered in the whole 248 pounds, for the which hindrance I crave some letters of marque[3] of your Honours for the recovery of my hindrance.

Also I crave of your Honours some warrant that the Spanish Company[4] doth not molest me; for through my often imprisonment [I] could not recover my freedom, and now am threatened by some free-

[1] MS. 'facte,' meaning 'guilt,' 'wrong doing;' see Halliwell and Wright.

[2] MS. 'prolyned.'

[3] MS. 'marte.'

[4] The Company of Merchant Adventurers trading to Spain.

men of Exeter, that they will seize upon the fifth part of my adventure, which may be to the value of six butts of wines, and for the avoiding this hindrance and molestation I have no help nor aid but only in your Honours, and I, as duty binds me, will daily pray for your Honourables estate that God will bless you in health and wisdom, in the right way to set forth God's glory and the overthrow of our enemies, and thus God preserve our noble Queen and send her long to reign over us. Amen.

Written by your poor orator, William Melsam, the 4th of February, Anno 1585.[1]

Intelligence

ADVERTISEMENTS FOR MR. SECRETARY[2]

[**S.P. Dom. cxcix. 94.**]

Thomas Stonne, of Plymouth, saith that he came from Lisbon[3] 9 days past, who arrived at Plymouth the 19th of March, and saith that he remained in Lisbon the space of two months, and there was then there stayed 3 score hulks and flyboats, all unrigged, and also 4 great ships and 2 pinnaces prepared, which departed from thence about three weeks past, in warlike manner, and, as he thinketh, of 400 tons a piece, and within three days after their departure 2 of them returned very much spoiled with foul weather, and, as he heard say, they were bound for the West Indies. And he saith that three days before he came from thence he saw certain of the hulks making in a readiness, which were appointed,

[1] *I.e.* 1586 N.S.

[2] Endorsement. This document is dated in the official Calendar, 'March (?), 1587,' but from the reference to Drake's capture of Santiago it cannot be later than 1586.

[3] MS. 'Lechborne' throughout the letter.

as he heard, to go for Seville,[1] and 15 or 16 galleys, and 14 or 15 armathos,[2] were also a preparing, but whither they should go he could not learn. But saith that he saw in the said city daily many soldiers, and daily more and more resorted, all which, as he heard, should be sent for Seville in the hulks. And further saith that one Richard Graunte, a merchant of Ireland, arrived at Lisbon in a Scottish ship in January last, and he left there two merchant ships of Ireland, manned with Irishmen as he supposeth, the which had traffic in Lisbon without any molestation. And their came in their company from Lisbon 22 hulks richly laden and well appointed, which went by the backside of Ireland. He also heard there reported that Sir Francis Drake had taken Santiago, in Cape Verde ; and that wheat was worth there at his coming from thence 16 reals the haneck.[3]

Also a ship of Leith, in Scotland, called the Galleon, arrived in Dartmouth the 24th day of March, and came from St. Lucar the 11th of March, who say that there are a preparing 26 sail of Basquins[4] as men of war for the West Indies, but they want very much mariners and gunners ; they are between 200 and 400 tons a piece, manned with soldiers ; and that there was 50 sail ready for the West Indies, which are all stayed for fear of Sir Francis Drake ; and there is neither argosies[5] nor galleys come thither out of Straits ; and that the English merchants have liberty upon good sureties, but all masters of ships and mariners are imprisoned. And they say

[1] MS. 'Civell.' [2] See note, p. 60. [3] See note, p. 58.

[4] 'Basquin' is probably only a mistake for 'Biscayan.' Rumours of twenty-four Biscayans being armed occurs again in Dawx's letter. *Infra*, p. 67.

[5] 'Argosy' is supposed by some to be a corruption of 'Ragusan,' a term applied to the large type of merchant vessel assumed to be characteristic of the port of Ragusa.

that if the English victuallers had not relieved them they had not been able to have done anything. Further, they say that an English merchant of good years came from Seville,[1] where he heard a friar preach, that he was a prophet to declare the ruin of Spain, and a most miserable famine to follow these years following, with their overthrow and loss of their Indies.

Intelligence

ADVERTISEMENTS TOUCHING SIR FRANCIS DRAKE[2]

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxviii. 1.**]

Sir John Spark, of Plymouth, came to London this Friday night, *the first of April*,[3] and reporteth that a Breton[4] is arrived at Plymouth that came from Seville[5] in 9 days, that brings assured word that Sir Fr. Drake is arrived at the Indies, hath taken Nombre de Dios,[6] Panama, and Cartagena, and runneth through the country like a conqueror, and taken their shipping and treasure in great abundance.

Intelligence

SPANISH ADVERTISEMENTS[2]

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxviii. 8.**—Endorsed April 9.]

William Dawx, merchant, of London, now come home in the Solomon from St. Jean de Luz,[7]

Sayeth that upon Tuesday was sennight he was at St. Jean de Luz and that the very same night

[1] MS. 'Civill.'
[2] Endorsement.
[3] Underlined in another hand.
[4] MS. 'Brytan.' [5] MS. 'Syvel.' [6] MS. 'Numeradedeos.'
[7] MS. 'Salymon from St. John de Luce.'

there came in a small bark, laden with [wines], oils, and olives, that came from St. Lucar in 9 days before, which brought letters for merchants there, which he saw the opening of, that reported Sir Fr. Drake's arrival at the Indies, and that he had taken St. Domingo and used his pleasure in other parts there, and that the merchants of Seville were in a great mummering,[1] not knowing what to do. And that the Armados, about 3 or 4 days before that ship's coming away, were towed over the bar of St. Lucar by certain galleys and are gone to Lisbon to join with the fleet there, but went very ill provided, and that it is said they shall go all after Sir Fr. Drake.

And further he saith that the Governor of Biscay giveth it forth that there shall be 12 sail of ships provided upon the King's charge, and 12 sail more upon the country's charge, to keep that coast, but there is no likelihood or show of any such preparation there as yet.

It is said the King comes to Lisbon to see the setting forward of those armados.

Intelligence

RICHARD MAY TO [THE COUNCIL]

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxviii. 17.**—Signed. Endorsed April 13.]

Right Honourable, I appointed one Andro Jones, now lately come forth of France to report what he knoweth, whom I think hath been with your Honours, for such was his promise.

Though purposes of the French is more than to

[1] Meaning in a state of being unable to make up one's mind on any course of action. The more usual form is 'mammering.' See Halliwell and Wright; and Laughton, *Defeat of the Armada*, i. 59.

be suspected, for besides Andro Jones's report I beseech your Honours to consider what is written to one John Woodward, merchant, of London, by his servant, Augustine Skynner—viz. :

'Dated the 12th of April, stylo novo 1586, in Dieppe.[1]

It is most certain that since our arrival the Governor hath caused and are now a making ready the best and principalest ships; 24 sail out of this town, which within 15 days go to the sea. Also all the best and principalest ships that are here upon the coast are prest. They have given it out that it is for nothing but to keep the coast: but we doubt there is some further matter than that. In my next I will write you further, God willing.'

There is a general imbargment[2] at St. Lucar as well of French as of [[3]].

This conclusion agreeth with the intelligence of Ingat, Curties, Wiseman, Hassall, comers lately out of Spain, which joined all in one tale that the King of ['France' *erased*] the French was confederate in the Popish league to follow the King of Spain's direction, and that great treasures have still every week been posted overland into France out of Spain.

Hassall doth affirm that they gave it out at his coming away little more than a fortnight past that England should smoke ere long, for the French had promised their aid and their King had furnished France with money for that purpose, and although there were intended a sudden invasion, yet their King, to satisfy the Law of Arms, would first send his Ambassador for England, and that there was one

[1] MS. 'Depe.'

[2] MS. has 'ymbargm[t],' an English form of the Spanish 'embargo,' which never took root. The English words in common use were, according to Minshew, 'arresting,' 'stopping,' and 'staying.'

[3] Blank in MS.

now a despatching from the Court of Spain hither, as it was reported to him by certain Cavaleros: but it is most likely to go forth to lie for Sir Fr. Drake those French ships so a preparing.

This Hassall came from Ayamonte[1] and took shipping at Ferroll in Portingale, and saith there is one thing fears them more than all the rest (Sir Fr. Drake's proceeding except), and that is Don Antonio: for if he were set in Portingale with 5,000 men the whole country would take comfort and run unto him, for the Spaniard hath already exercised great tyranny against the Portingale, and all their chiefest houses almost cut off.

These things are to be left to your honourable consideration, unto whom I beseech God to give instruction for due prevention of pretended villainy.

RICH. MAY.

PLAN OF THE CAMPAIGN.

[Lansd. MS. 100, fol. 98.][2]

The 25 April 1586.

A discourse of Sir Francis Drake's voyage, which by God's grace he shall well perform.

Plymouth, 14 of Sept.

He departed with his fleet of 22 ships and barks [and eight][3] pinnaces from Plymouth the 14th of September, 1585, [and came to] the Isles of Bayon, in Galicia, the 27th of the same.

[1] MS. 'Amonty.'

[2] This document appears to have been communicated to the Government by some one in Drake's confidence in order probably to allay the anxiety that may have been felt at his prolonged absence without anything having been heard of him since the sack of Santiago. It gives complete details of the operations he intended in the Indies, and the time he thought they would take.

[3] One margin is destroyed by damp. The words in brackets are supplied conjecturally.

Bayon, 11th Oct.

Ferro, 24th Oct.

He stayed there until the 11th day of October, [when he continued] his voyage, and arrived at Ferro, the southernmost [of the Canary Islands], which lieth in 27½ degrees, and there refre[shed. Thence he] departed about the 24th of October.

Santiago, 4th Novemb.

He then arrived at the Isle of Santiago, the p[rincipal city of] Cape Verde, which standeth in 14 degrees; and [they having] denied him water, he spoiled the city, razed the [defences thereof], and brought away 10 pieces of brass or th[ereabout. All this] might be finished about the 4th of November.

Dominica, 29th Novemb.

Then he departed, and followed his voyage to the W[est Indies, where] he might arrive and proceed by conjecture as follows.

First he might arrive at the Isle of Dominica a [desert island], which standeth in 14 degrees, the 28th of Nov[ember. There he] might water and depart the 29th of the same.

Margarita, 2 Decemb.

From thence he might take the princip[al town of Margarita], which standeth in the south side of the island, and [another town] of the same island, where there might be well gotten [ ] and 20

Margarita, 2 Decemb. — pieces of brasse; and this might be finished [about the 2nd] December. This islande standeth in 10 degrees.

St. Domingo, 12th Decemb. — From thence the first place of importance [is Rio de la Hacha on] the Main, which standeth in 10 degrees, wh[ere many pearls] are gotten, which he may take and sack, and ga[ther much spoil. This] may be done by the 6th of December, unless he t[urn aside to Hispaniola] and the city of Domingo, which stand in 1[8 degrees], where he may take to the value of 500,000 duc[ats. This may be done] by the 12th of December.

Rio de la Hacha, the 18th December. — Then if he have dealt with the City of Dom[ingo, he may stand] over to Rio de la Hacha aforesaid, and depart fr[om thence the 29th] day of December.

Santa Marta, 30th December. — From thence he may arrive the next day at S[anta Marta], where in one day he may make a prey of 10,000 [ducats, and] so depart.

[Cartagena, 8th Jan.] — From thence he goeth to Cartagena which standeth in 9 degrees or thereabouts, which is a strong place and rich, where he may spend 6 days and possess all the town; the Castle he will raze, and may there make a prey of a million of ducats and

[Cartagena, 8th Jan.] bring from thence 20 pieces of brass. He may depart from this place the 8th of January.

[Nombre de Dios] From thence he goeth directly to Nombre de Dios, which standeth in 10 degrees or thereabouts, a very rich place which he may possess without any resistance, where the Cimaroons[1] will assemble and join wth him [to] the number of 5,000. And when he hath sacked and ransomed to the value of a million of ducats as he may, he will take a company with him of 1,000 men besides the Cimaroons and pass by the river of Chagres, where he may go by water to Panama, within xv miles of the town.

[Panama] The town of Panama standeth upon the sea coast in the South Sea, and doth [receive] all the treasure that cometh by water from the new Kingdom of Peru, which may be taken without resistance; this town may be a prey of a million of ducats.

[Isle of Pearls] There standeth a little distance off an island which they call the Isle of Pearls, which if he can make provision to set over some company he may make there a great prey.

[1] MS. 'Semyroanes.' See p. 79, *n.*

[25th Feb.] These places will require some time to travail and to obtain, but I think they may be achieved and his people returned to his ships by the 25th of February.

In the time while this company are in travail about the taking of Panama and the Isle of Pearls, Sir F. D. will be occupied with his pinnaces in searching all the coast of the Honduras, where he may plentifully refresh himself with victuals, and take all the frigates upon the coast, which may be to the number of 200.

He may there also prey upon many rich men, and ransom them for 100,000 ducats.[1]

[Havana] From thence he will depart and sail to the port of the Havana in Cuba, which standeth in 23 degrees, and is a strong place where all the *flotas*[2] of the Spaniards assemble and join to fit themselves to come into Spain. This place he meaneth to raze and take such store of hides and sugar as is to be found ready.

Havana If he find the place tenable and s[. . . .], he will leave a company of soldiers [there. . . .

[1] MS. '100m thousande.'

[2] MS. 'floates.' The 'flotas' were the annual convoys organised by the Casa de Contracion at Seville. See p. 60, *n.* 3.

Home 10th June { . . . . This] may be by the end of March.
And so with God's help he may [return back to] England by the 10th of June which [God grant].

Intelligence

ADVERTISEMENTS TOUCHING THE PREPARATIONS IN SPAIN[1]

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxix. 4.** Endorsed May 3, 1586.]

It may please your Honour to understand that the King of Spain's Armada are as followeth :—

Nine galleons from three hundred to five hundred tons the piece.

Two ships of the Indies of five hundred tons the piece.

Seven small ships from three score to a hundred and fifty tons the piece.

These ships may carry in them four thousand men, mariners and soldiers, and goeth very well appointed of all kind of munition and artillery.

What this Armada may do is, if they meet with Sir Francis in the sea, and do think themselves strong enough, they will encounter with him.

If they find him in the country, they will seek to betray him by treason.

When they cannot prevail this way, they will procure to recover again those forts which Sir Francis hath taken, and to re-edify them.

To prevent the Spaniard of all these treasons, and turn him clean out of his wits, were to send a second armada from hence of merchants and men-of-war, the merchandise to sustain[2] and maintain trade, and

[1] Endorsement.

[2] MS. 'sustent.'

the soldiers to remain and help to strengthen such as Sir Francis shall leave behind him in arms, either of the people of the country [or] of our own nation.

And at no hand do not [your] Honour consent that any go that way in particularity or alone, but in fleets, which cannot lightly miscarry but return both with honour and profit, whereas when ships goeth alone they do ordinarily remain to the encouragement of the enemy and to the great weakening of the realm.

If your Honour pretend[1] to know how they work in Spain, and whether they will send any armada or no, now were the time to send a particular man, that can dissemble,—no more but to go and come and bring word what he seeth; for in these two months they must do all that they can do for the Indies, as also for other places.

If they be prevented this year they stand in danger of many discommodities for lack of money:

To make the Commons to rise,

The lack of their trade to the Indies,

The utterance of their commodity at home,

And they shall not be able to pay the King his *alcabala*[2] and customs, without which the King is able to do nothing.

Intelligence

[S.P. Dom. clxxxix. 23.]

By letters this morning, sent from the west countries, it is reported that a ship of Normandy

[1] *I.e.* 'seek,' as in 'pretender,' a claimant.

[2] MS. 'all cavalds.' The *alcabala* was a tax of ten per cent. on sales of property, originally levied for the expulsion of the Moors, but continued by Charles V.

is come from Nombre de Dios,[1] and brought certain Frenchmen and Spaniards that were captives in the Spanish galleys there, who got their liberty by Sir Francis Drake, as also a great many Englishmen, which were captives in those galleys, and that he hath taken the spoil of Nombre de Dios[1] with 20 sail of Spanish ships and 4 galleys, infinitely rich. The words of the letter ensueth: 'Now you shall be partaker of such news as we have here in Morlaix, by the report of them that did see it, that Sir Francis Drake hath sacked St. Domingo and Nombre de Dios,[1] and in fight hath taken 20 ships and 4 galleys that there attended his coming, wherein he redeemed 22 Englishmen and 200 Frenchmen, with other Spaniards, captives in the said galleys; whereof 10 Frenchmen and Spaniards are come to Morlaix, and came in a Norman ship, that was there at the broil with Sir Francis Drake. Besides, Sir Francis Drake hath taken many and rich spoils, 250 brass pieces, and burned all the ships and galleys, save such as were necessary for carriage of victuals, and hath left them clean without weapons, and thence went to another encounter of ships and galleys that likewise attended his coming. If God send him an happy success, it will be such a cooling to King Philip as never happened to him since he was King of Spain. Here is a Spaniard which was 20 years in the galleys, now triumpheth here in Morlaix, with continual prayers for Sir Francis Drake for his deliverance.'

[1] MS. 'Nomeradeos.'

Intelligence

SPANISH ADVERTISEMENTS [1]

[S.P. Dom. clxxxix. 24.]

By letters from Biskay which came by Bordeaux of the 15th of May, 1586.

The Bank of Seville is broke.

The Bank of Venice also very likely.

The King of Spain's commandment prohibiting the buying of English commodities.

General speech that the King of Spain will make a great army for England of 800 sail of ships but as yet is seen but small preparation, and is only a Spanish brag, and very unlikely in many years for him to provide shipping, mariners, and soldiers for such an army unless the French assist him.

From Bordeaux.

All English ships, being 7 in number, are imbarged for the King's service at Bordeaux, likewise a Scots ship, as it is said to serve against Rochelle.

The King of Spain (by the best men of experience their judgments and by their remembrances of the like examples done in policy by the Spaniards) hath no other meaning, but by supposition that, a rumour being given forth of so great a power to come for England, a restraint here will be made by your Honours (for the better defence of the realm) of those ships which else might and would go after Sir Francis Drake. So that then they may the better steal forth with such power as they may make for the Indies, and not be prevented or more forcibly resisted in those attempts by them intended against Sir Francis Drake. For all Spain over it is bruited and holden for great truth that every gentleman about the Court buildeth a ship or two to

[1] Endorsement.

send after Sir Francis Drake, and that some have sold their lands for that purpose, wherefore they tremble and fear lest their Indies will be gone.

Mr. Alderman Bond hath received letters this morning passed from Morlaix by the west country representing that a ship of [Roscoff[1] in France, *erased*] Normandy is come from Nombre de Dios, and brought certain Frenchmen and Spaniards that were captives in the Spanish galleys there, who got their liberty by Sir Francis Drake; as also a great many Englishmen which were captives in those galleys, and that he hath taken the spoil of Nombre de Dios with 20 sail of Spanish ships and 4 galleys infinitely rich. The words of the letter ensueth: 'Now you shall be partaker of such news as we have here in Morlaix by the report of them that did see it, that Sir Francis Drake hath sacked St. Domingo and Nombre de Dios, and in fight hath taken 20 ships and 4 galleys that there attended his coming, wherein he redeemed 22 Englishmen and 200 Frenchmen with others Spaniards captives in the said galleys, whereof 10 Frenchmen and Spaniards are come to Morlaix, and came in a Norman ship that was there at the broil with Sir Francis Drake. Besides Sir Francis hath taken many and rich spoils, 250 brass pieces, and burned all the ships and galleys save such as were necessary for carriage of victuals, and hath left them clean without weapons, and thence went to another encounter of ships and galleys that likewise attended his coming. God send him well and a happy success in all his enterprises. It will be such a cooling to King Philip as never happened to him since he was King of Spain. There is a Spaniard here which was 20 years in captivity there in the

[1] MS. 'Rusco.' Roscoff is a small seaport on the north coast of Finisterre, near Morlaix.

galleys, and now triumphing here in Morlaix with continual prayers for Sir Francis Drake for his delivery.'

Intelligence

[S.P. Dom. clxxxix. 27.]

This was as near as I can remember, as the Spaniard telleth us: 7 or 8 days after Twelfth Day that Sir Francis won the town of St. Domingo, and after what order he having made agreement with the Maroons,[1] which were in the mountains, for to go to the watch houses which were on the sea side, and so for to dispatch the Spaniards which came for to make the watch; so that the town knew nothing of it; and so that night landed his men by report[2] the number of 800 caliver men, and the ships set sail for to come to an anchor seaward[3] the town till that it were day. And in the dawning of the day, the men which were ashore giving an alarm to the town, forth came 40 or 50 horsemen, which were straightway overcome, and within one hour space was the English ancient set on the tower of St. Domingo. They weighed the ships and came to an anchor in under the town and shot off their ordnance for joy having won the town. This news telleth us three men which were in the town when it was taken and went from thence to Santiago de Cuba and embarked themselves in a ship for to

[1] MS. 'Marones,' *i.e.* the Cimarroñes, or escaped negroes, who were in possession of the highlands in the interior at San Domingo, Darien, and elsewhere. Drake's early operations against Nombre de Dios and the Panama treasure trains had been carried out with the assistance of these people. The prospect of an alliance between them and the English was a constant anxiety to the Colonial Governments.

[2] MS. 'treporte,' but this is probably a mistake, unless it be an attempt to write the local name of the landing place where Drake disembarked his troops after the Maroons had dispatched the Spanish picket in the watch houses that guarded it.

[3] MS. has 'severte' or 'sewerte'; possibly 'athwart.'

come to Spain. So we [have] taken that ship at Cape Corrientes which should carry that news for Spain.

Intelligence

ADVERTISEMENTS TOUCHING SIR F. DRAKE

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxix. 42.**—Holograph.]

Taken forth of a letter sent to Nicholas Turner, merchant, of London.

Jesus in Morlaix the 26th of May 1586.

You shall understand that Monsieur Darohan, Monsieur Laval, Monsieur Darnis, and Monsieur Dantollot[1] how that God hath taken them unto His mercy, unto the great grief of our poor brethren; notwithstanding God hath so provided for us that I hope all will be well in the end. The King maketh a great army by sea, the like by report hath not been in France. Also you shall understand that the Almaynes are entered into France for the King of Navarre, but truly here is such a dearth of corn that hath not been in France all these troubles, so that the King and Monsieur de Guise they cannot make any camp[2] for want of provision. So God of his mercy doth help us continually: I promise you in the high countries of France they die for want.

Also you shall understand that to-night late I came from Roscoff, and there is arrived a ship of Newhaven[3] which is come from Sir Fr. Drake, and I have talked with the Captain and his company, who have told me that he hath taken St. Domingo and

[1] 'Darohan' is René II. Vicomte de Rohan, one of the most brilliant of the Huguenot captains, who died at Rochelle, aged 36. The others were all of the family of François Coligny Sieur d'Andelot, the Admiral's youngest brother, who died of disease or their wounds within a few weeks of one another. Their seigniorial titles were Laval, Rieux, Tanlay, and Sailly. Darnis is possibly a mis-spelling of Tanlay. See Baird, *The Huguenots and Henry of Navarre*, i. 397.

[2] *I.e.* Mobilise an army.

[3] *I.e.* Havre.

went from thence the 22nd of January with all the riches of the island, and hath taken 5 great galleons, whereof a ship called the Grand Guy of 600 tons burden was one, a new ship French built, the like whereof was not in all Spain ; 2 saettias,[1] whereon there attended 2 galleys ; 5 foysts[2] with 15 frigates ; the most part he hath burnt, unless it were the Grand Guy and 3 galleons more which he hath carried with him. Also he hath found great store of provision in the island, as oil, wines, and rice, the which he made more account of than the treasure. Also he found there in the ships and forts 350 pieces of brass, all which he hath carried with him, likewise with powder and shot. Ten days before his arrival there the Spaniards took 2 ships of Newhaven, wherein were 300 men. So he found in the prisons of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Flemings, and Provençals[3] unto the number of 1,200 with those that were in the galleys, and besides 800 of those of the country that were condemned for ever to go from the main and to be for ever captives in the galleys.

[1] MS. 'satias.' There seems some confusion in the passage, for it was the province of saettias to attend on galleys. The saettia was the lightest vessel of the galley class, and in galley fleets held very much the same position as a 'destroyer' to-day. Its name is derived from sagitta, an arrow, and occurs in many forms, as sagittiva, sagitta, sagettéa, satéa, cettéa, sitia, sithia, &c. (See Guglielmotti, *Marina Pontificia*, ii., p. 218.)

[2] MS. 'Feust.' The 'foyst,' or 'fusta,' was a similar vessel, which got its name from being so long as to resemble a dug-out canoe, from 'fusta,' the trunk of a tree. It came next in size to the galley, rowed from eighteen to twenty oars a side, and had a crew of about a hundred men, who, as in all vessels below the rank of galley, were free and did the rowing and fighting indifferently. Their tactical value was similar to that of modern cruisers. The 'fregata,' or frigate, was a vessel of the same class, but smaller and of shallower draught.

[3] MS. 'provincialls.' It cannot be the English eighteenth-century word 'Provincials' or 'Colonists' ; these he distinguishes in the next clause as 'those of the country.'

So all these are gone with Sir Fr. Drake with a 1,000 more. I pray God to send him well. The army that went from Seville to encounter with him is returned with great spoil of masts, sails, and tackling, and for want of mariners, back again. And it is thought here the King of Spain will make a greater army. I would to God Sir Francis had 6 or 8 thousand more men with him. I end in great haste, committing you to God.

Yours unto death,
NICHOLAS CLEVAR.

To his loving friend Nicholas Turner, merchant, this deliver.

[*Postscript.*]

London.—The Right Honourable Lord Admiral hath a letter which was directed to Roger How, delivering the manner of the taking of St. Domingo, viz. that Sir Francis kept play with the Spaniards three days, making many a false alarm and charge as though he would have landed men and so wearied and tired them for want of meet rest; and then very secretly landed 800 men in most warlike order a league or two off, who marched very secretly towards St. Domingo; and in the meantime Sir Francis with his ships gave a hot [1] charge upon them, having his men ready to land in the face of them. Whereupon they generally issued forth of the town to defend his landing. Whereupon the 800 men on the land side cutting between them and town [fell] upon their backs and striking up their drums, displaying ensigns and such things; which so amazed them that they were scattered, killed, and spoiled in a moment very near 6,000.

[1] MS. reads 'whott.'

Intelligence

[**S.P. Dom. cxci. 35.**]

Two Jesuits arrived upon the coast of Norfolk and Suffolk, the one called Southwell, son to Mr. Southwell, of Norfolk, the other Allen, son to the widow Home, whose last husband was judge of one of the sheriffs' courts in London.

There is one Ingram Greine, a mariner, gone to sea in the bark Burre who is akin to Dr. Allen[1] and Coniars, the banished priests, who, conferring with [[2]] at the North Foreland, protests that he and his companions were resolved to kill Sir Fr. Drake or to carry him to Dunkirk, and followed him of purpose upon the sea. Their mainmast brake, and so hindered their pursuit.

The papists take great comfort of the malcontentment of the mariners and the mutinous disposition of the 'prentices.

Despatch

SIR FRAS. DRAKE TO BURGHLEY

[**Lansdowne, MSS. 51, Art. 14.**—Holograph.]

Right Honourable,—Having yet in remembrance your Honour's wish in your last letter that the receipt of my letter which I had written unto your Honour a little before had been dated rather from Cape Finisterre[3] than from Plymouth, I

[1] Afterwards Cardinal Allen, the famous organiser of the Jesuit campaign aganist Elizabeth.

[2] Blank in MS.

[3] MS. 'Venester.' Towards the end of August Burghley entered in his diary—'Sir Francis Drake took shipping at Plymouth to pass toward the India.' (Murdin, 783.) He probably thought Drake had sailed, though he did not get to sea till September 14. Hence the disappointment to which Drake alludes.

cannot omit to give your Honour now to understand that as we then slacked no possible travail or diligence which might any way belong to the handling of so great a dispatch, so let me assure your good Lordship that I will make it most apparent unto your Honour that it escaped us but twelve hours the whole treasure which the King of Spain had out of the Indies this last year, the cause best known to God; and we had at that instant very foul weather.[1]

My very good Lord, there is now a very great gap opened very little to the liking of the King of Spain. God work it all to his glory.

These gentlemen, the bearers hereof, have been actors and eyewitnesses of all that is passed and can fully certify your Honour of all particulars better than can be written; for which cause I thought it most meet to send them, as also more especially to declare the present estate of our ships, munition, and men, being, as I judge, of no small value to perform any good service if her Majesty be offered the occasion of further employment.

It resteth, therefore, in your wisdoms to consider, and in like sort to direct speedily, what course we have to follow.

And, further, I most humbly beseech your good Lordship to afford us your honourable good favour that some moneys may be had with some expedition for the present dispatching of our poorer sort of men, whose travail and long absence desireth a speedy dispatch.

[1] It is doubtful when this piece of bad luck occurred. It may have been in May 1586, when, for a month, he was hovering about Cape Antonio and Havana, the rendezvous of the treasure fleets. There was a succession of gales at this time, and it was also the regular time for the convoys to sail. He may, however, refer to the forty sail he missed between St. Vincent and Palma. (See 'Primrose Log,' *ante*, pp. 6, 23.)

The sum requisite for this dispatch would be no less than six thousand pounds, and, in lieu thereof, there shall be, either by land or sea, sent to the Tower or where or when your Lordship shall take order, bullion for it. And so humbly taking my leave of your good Lordship until such time as your Lordship shall command me to wait on your Lordship, when I shall give your Honour something to understand, I hope in God to your Lordship's good liking.

From aboard her Majesty's ship the Elizabeth Bonaventure, this 26th July, 1586.

Your Honour's most bounden,

FRA. DRAKE.

Rough Estimate of the proceeds of Drake's Voyage [1]

[**S.P. Dom. cxci. 38.**]

The plate and bullion . . .	42,000
The pearls	3,500
The ordnance	5,500
The ships	12,500
The hides	800
The iron and lead and alia . .	600

42,000
12,500
5,500
3,500
800
600
64,900
17,000[2]
47,900

[1] This paper bears no title, date, or endorsement, but from the report of the Audit Commission which follows it is clear that it must relate to this voyage.

[2] This item must be the third share to which the crews were entitled. (See next page and *ante*, p. 38, 'Regulations as to

Accounts.

REPORT OF THE COMMISSION APPOINTED TO WIND UP THE VOYAGE

[**Lansdowne MSS. lii. No. 36.**—Copy.]

I.

Declaration of Dividend, &c.

Our duty in humble manner remembered unto your good Lordship we do send herewith unto your Lordship a brief note to show the substance of the travail which we have taken in the ordering of the Account of the bullion, money, ships, and goods returned in the late voyage of Sir Francis Drake, and upon his demand of the charge outward.[1] There was much debating and many meetings till we could conclude that charge, but in the end we agreed to allow the charge outward to be 57,000*l.*, although his demand was by the book 60,400*l.*, besides divers blanks which were not summed upon that book. All which your Lordship may see at large set down under our hands in the first leaf of this book.

In the next leaf we have set down the account of all manner of bullion, money, plate, pearls, jewels, ships, merchandises, and all other commodities that were returned. In which account, the money taken out for the thirds paid unto the company,[2] and the

Letters of Marque,' Art. 8.) In the report of the Audit Commission, it appears as 17,500*l.*; but why it should be calculated on a total of 51,000*l.* instead of 64,000*l.*, as in this estimate, or upon 42,000*l.*, instead of 63,408*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*, as in the Audit Commission's report, is not explained. Probably the commissioned officers' share of the 'company's third' is not taken into account, and the 17,000*l.* represents what was due to the petty officers and men only.

[1] 'Charge outward' is the cost of mobilisation. The accounts show that the charge was taken as ending on September 14, the day the expedition sailed from Plymouth.

[2] See note, p. 85.

charges otherwise since their return into England being deducted, there remained to be divided 45,908*l.* 18*s.* 6*d.*, as your Lordship may see in the foot of the said account in the second leaf.

And thereupon we considered what might be divided, and found it would fall out to 15*s.* for every pound to the adventurers, and 12*d.* upon every pound more if all things fell out according to that account; whereupon we set down the order written in the third leaf for payment to be made to every adventurer after the rate of 15*s.* for every pound so adventured.

Lastly, in the 4th leaf, we have set down how her Majesty is answered 15*s.* of every pound adventured by her Majesty, whereby your Lordship may see there is answered to her Highness, over and above the dividend of 15*s.* upon every pound, the sum of 350*l.* 16*s.* 4*d.*

If your Lordship shall require any further satisfaction we shall be ready to attend your Lordship's pleasure at any time hereafter. And so humbly take our leave. From London the day of June, 1587.[1]

II.

Statement of Account by the Commission and Drake[2]

It may please your Lordships to understand that we have considered upon this book of account

[1] This copy of the letter, accompanying the report, is not signed by the members of the Commission, but their names appear subsequently. They were Sir William Wynter, Surveyor of the Ships, and senior officer of the Admiralty; John Hawkyns, Treasurer of the Navy; Alderman Richard Martyn, Master of the Mint; Thomas Smythe, Farmer of the London Customs and Master of Mining Works; and Alderman John Harte, a Director of the Muscovy Company.

[2] This enclosure and the two accounts that follow are in duplicate.

delivered unto us by Sir Francis Drake, knight, of the whole charges of the ships, victuals, provisions, powder, munitions, merchandises, prests and other charges outward to the 14th day of September, 1585. The which, when we had at sundry meetings and diverse consultations well considered, we could not control.[1] And for anything we saw or could gather upon it, hearing his answers, reasons, and allegations to the objections, we could not, so far as in us was, but allow [it] for an honest and true account.

Yet, forasmuch as the charge was great to the adventurers, and the bullion and commodity returned not being able to countervail the charge outward, we have therefore travailed with him that in consideration of the prests delivered to the company,[2] the merchandise also for the relief of them, and the avoiding of more travail in the said account, that he would be pleased to set it down to some certain rate as we might think it fit and reasonable for the adventurers to accept.

	£	s.	d.
First, the charge of the book was .	60,400	0	0
Item, sundry sums stood in the book in blank, and were not summed up, which did seem to be of good value.			
Item, he hath demanded nothing for his charges during the whole time of the preparation for his journey in the said account, which could not be but a great matter, the thing hanging so long.			

[1] 'Control,' *i.e.* check adversely, tax, or reduce, from the French *contre-rôle*, counter-account or audit, equivalent to the legal 'taxing.'

[2] *I.e.* the recruiting money paid the men.

Item, his man Cottell died in the journey, who had the chief charge of his accounts, whereby he could not but forget much, and so receive great loss thereby.

Nevertheless he hath, upon the reasons and debatings had between us and him, as aforesaid, concluded that the charge outward ended the 14th of September, 1585, shall be set down to the certainty of 57,000*l.* So that we are persuaded for anything that we can perceive that he dealeth very liberally and truly with the adventurers, and beareth himself a very great loss therein. And therefore, weighing the conformity of the gentlemen with the worthiness of the enterprise which hath been so well performed to the honour of her Majesty and good of our country, we can do no less than humbly pray your Honours to be a mean unto her Majesty that consideration may be had of the painful and dangerous attempt achieved by him and the captains and gentlemen that served with him in the action.[1]

[1] In advising Drake, at Cartagena, to accept a smaller ransom than he had demanded, and evacuate the place, his military council of war had passed a self-denying resolution in testimony that their decision was based on military considerations alone. 'But because it may be supposed,' the third resolution concludes, 'that herein we forget not the private benefit of ourselves and are thereby the rather moved to incline ourselves to this composition, we do, therefore, think good for the clearance of ourselves of all such suspicion, to declare hereby, that what part or portion soever it be of this ransom or composition for Cartagena, which should come unto us, we do freely give and bestow the same upon the poor men, who have remained with us in the voyage, meaning as well the sailor as the soldier, wishing with all our hearts it were such or so much as might seem a sufficient reward for their painful endeavour.' (*Summary Discourse* in 'Hakluyt.')

[*Assets*]

	£	s.	d.
For the gold being of several fineness coined by Alderman Martyn,[1] which doth amount unto (the charges deducted in weight) .	5,146	5	10
For blocks of silver, fine and coarse, reals of plate *corriente*[2] of the Indies and Florida, gilt and white plate, being fined and coined by Alderman Martin, amounting unto (the charges deducted) .	34,133	9	10
In pearl of all sorts, great and small, as they were sold, with 6 oz. of emeralds	3,205	3	8
The brass ordnance, great and small, which is in order at 3*l.* the cwt., being in weight 1,740 cwt. 3 qrs. 4 lbs.	5,222	7	0
For the bases,[3] and those out of order, being 590 cwt. 2 qrs. 10 lbs., at 50*s.* per cwt. . . .	1,476	9	4
For 36 pieces of cast iron ordnance, weighing 284 cwt., at 6*s.* 8*d.* per cwt.	94	13	4
For gold buttons sold, 317 at 6*s.* per button	100	2	0
For copper, old and new . . .	154	12	0
For 93 cwt. of copper money, at 45*s.* per cwt.	210	7	6

[1] Master of the Mint.

[2] *I.e.* reals of what was known as *corriente* silver, the standard fineness of the West Indies. Value, sixpence.

[3] The base, or Portugal base, was a breech-loading culverin. Norton (*The Gunner*) says it might be as much as 30 calibres long, and had a swivel mounting; also that it was usually of wrought iron—that is, built up longitudinally with bars of iron, clamped together by rings shrunk over them. (See Appendix A.)

	£	s.	d.
For sheet lead and sow-lead sold .	64	16	8
For new and old pewter sold . .	18	13	4
For ships delivered back to the owners,[1] the sum . . .	14,520	1	0
	64,347	1	6
For bells yet remaining[2] . . .	157	4	0
For 125 barrels of powder .	350	0	0
For small parcels of remains of provisions sold	166	12	0
For 50 oz. of pearls. . . .	50	0	0
For debts which are to be called in, and to be abated upon the adventurers	1,821	13	7
For the Speedwell[3]	125	0	0
	2,670	9	7
[Total]	67,017	11	1
Charges after the ships coming home	3,608	12	[7][4]
Rest nett	63,408	18	[6]
Abate the thirds	17,500	0	[0]
Rest nett all deductions defalked[5]	45,908	18	[6]

It is to be noted that we, the parties which have hereunto subscribed, have assembled and had sundry meetings, and have with great care perused the

[1] Either the French and other prizes recaptured at San Domingo and Cartagena, or the chartered ships, or both.

[2] *I.e.* the bells of the Spanish churches and the hospital at Santiago.

[3] This vessel was driven home from Vigo in the storm. The charge is probably the cost of refitting her for a fresh start. (See *ante*, p. 45, and also *post*, p. 96.)

[4] MS. torn at corner. Pence column taken from duplicate of the account. *Ibidem.*

[5] Defalked = defalcated, *i.e.* deducted or abated.

charge of Sir Francis Drake's voyage outward; and so likewise we have considered and seen the value of the bullion gold, money, ships, and other provisions brought home; and we do find that there may be paid unto every adventurer 15*s.* of every pound adventured. Besides when the debts shall be recovered, and the goods sold, there may fall out near to the value of 12*d.* upon every pound more, which doth remain until it be seen what shall fall out of such scapes as may be omitted; which is likewise to be answered to the adventurers as it shall fall out hereafter, when it shall be thoroughly seen that all things are answered. Written the 11th day of March, 1586 (*i.e.* 1587).

Signed[1]:—W. Wynter, Fra. Drake, Richard Martyn, Tho. Smythe, John Harte, John Hawkyns.

III.

Similar Statement by Frobiser and Carleill

[**S.P. Dom. cxcv. 79.**—Signed.]

It may please your Lordships to understand that we have considered upon this book delivered unto us by Sir Francis Drake of the whole charge of the ships—victual, powder, munition, provisions, merchandises, prests, and other charges outward to the 14th day of September, 1585—which book, when we had with sundry meetings and divers considerations well considered, we could not control; but for anything we saw or could gather upon it, hearing his answers, reasons, and allegations, we could not so far as in us was but allow for an honest and true accompt.

[1] The clerk who copied these signatures does not spell them as they were written. He writes 'Winter,' 'Martin,' 'Smith,' and 'Hawkins.' It is one of many instances which makes it doubtful whether the rule for spelling names adopted by the Society would have been approved by an Elizabethan.

Yet forasmuch as the charge was great to the adventurers, and the bullion and commodities not able to countervail the charge, we have travailed with him in consideration of the prests delivered to the company, the merchandises also delivered for the relief of them, and avoiding of more travail in that accompt, that he would set it down to some certain rate, so as we might think it fit and reasonable for the adventurers to accept.

	£	s.	d.
The charge of the book was . .	60,400	0	0
Sundry sums stood upon the book in blank not summed up.			
He hath demanded nothing for his charges during the whole time of the preparation of the journey, which could not be but a great matter, the thing hanging so long.			
His man Cottell died in the journey who had the chief charge of his accounts, whereby he could not but forget much and receive great loss.			

He hath, upon the reasons and debatings of both sides, concluded that the charge outward shall be set down to the certainty of 57,000*l.* which was disbursed before the 14th day of September, 1585, as aforesaid, wherein we are certainly persuaded that he dealeth very liberally and truly with the adventurers, and beareth himself a very great loss.

And considering the worthiness of this enterprise, which hath been so well performed to the honour of her Majesty and our country, we humbly pray your honours to be a mean unto her Majesty that consideration may be had both of his worthiness and the painful and dangerous attempt achieved by the valour of such gentlemen and captains that

followed him in this most worthy action. Written the of December 1586.

W. Wynter — Richard Martin
Martin Frobiser — Thomas Smythe
Christ. Carleill — John Harte
John Hawkyns.

IV.

Statement of the Queen's Account

[Lansdowne MSS. lii. No. 36 continued.]

Her Majesty's account for her 20,000*l.* adventure with Sir Francis Drake, and what her Majesty is answered :—

	£	s.	d.
First, there was disbursed by her Majesty in ready money . .	10,000	0	0
More, her Majesty's ships named the Eliz. Bonadventure and the Aid, with their brass ordnance, tackle, apparel, and other furniture, valued at	10,000	0	0
	20,000	0	0

What her Majesty hath received back towards her adventure :—

	£	s.	d.
First, her Highness' foresaid ships with their brass ordnance and other furniture as they were returned, in the value of . .	8,000	0	0
More in brass ordnance, which was gotten in the West Indies, to the value of	6,696	16	4
More delivered to her Majesty in pearls, to the value of . .	654	0	0
	15,350	16	4

So as her Majesty is answered 15*s.* of every pound adventured, as every other adventurer is. And there remaineth in her Highness' hands over above the allowance [350 16 4][1]

V.

Account of Expense after the Return

[**Lansdowne MSS. lii. No. 36.**—Continued.]

THE CHARGES SINCE THE SHIPS CAME HOME

	£	s.	d.
Sir Francis Drake's account . .	1,845	16	0
For allowance of victual for the Francis, and the travel of Ric. Hawkyns coming out of Cornwall	13	6	8
For a charge of the Turk,[2] lighterage, and other charges paid by Alderman Martyn by the Commissioners' warrant . . .	303	0	0
For custom to Mr. Smythe for all the goods brought home by agreement of the Commissioners .	205	0	0
For money laid out by Martin Parker, and for apparel for the Turk, and for other charges as by his bill allowed	10	0	0

[1] Amount torn out.

[2] Nothing is known of this Turk. It may be conjectured he was one of the Turkish galley slaves liberated at San Domingo, and was, perhaps, a man of some position. The reason of his exceptional treatment may possibly be not unconnected with the presents which Drake made shortly after this time to the Capitan Pasha or Commander-in-Chief of the Turkish Navy. (See *Venetian Calendar.*) Drake was certainly suspected of an intention to arrange with the Porte a combined movement against Spain, in favour of Don Antonio, the Portuguese pretender, who at this time was under his protection.

	£	s.	d.
For an allowance of 4 pieces that lacked of the Hope's ordnance, with their carriages . . .	20	0	0
For a cable of 900 delivered to the Talbot,[1] and one of 700 to the Francis	26	0	0
For a charge paid out in setting forth the Speedwell	115	0	0
For 2 cables and 2 anchors delivered to the Sea Dragon and the White Lion at Plymouth in their necessity	60	0	0
For rent of 2 warehouses at Sabbes Keye, by agreement . .	5	0	0
For the charges of 6,000*l.* taken up and carried to Portsmouth for payment of the company . .	100	0	0
For a charge disbursed by Wm. Martin for victual . . .	20	0	0
For a charge to sundry persons for attendance upon the sale of the goods and weighing the ordnance	20	0	0
For sundry charges to Baker, Newman, Flower, Dassell, and Parker	15	3	8
For money carried to the sea by Sir Francis Drake, which he spent for the furtherance of service .	800	0	0
For charges disbursed by Roger Tallaunt in France and otherwise for travail taken . .	30	0	0
More to compound for Braser's debt	20	0	0
	3,608	12	7

[1] MS. 'Tabott.'

THE CAMPAIGN OF 1587

Despatch

THOMAS FENNER[1] *TO WALSYNGHAM*

[**S.P. Dom. cc. 1.**—Holograph. Addressed and seal.]

Right Honourable,—May it please you to be advertised we arrived with her Majesty's ships and pinnaces at Plymouth the 25th of March with the Lion of my Lord Admiral and four of the merchant ships in company; the rest of the fleet seized[2] Dartmouth, but now all in the Sound of Plymouth; and this first of April the Admiral and most of the fleet under sail to draw the companies aboard.

Here is prepared by the General four ships well victualled, furnished, and manned, and good store of victual in two[3] of them over and above their provision.

There hath been some proportions of victuals refreshed[4] by the General unto her Majesty's ships,

[1] Drake's Flag-Captain in the last expedition.
[2] MS. 'seasid.'
[3] MS. 'towe.'
[4] 'Refresh' was the technical expression for filling up with fresh victual.

and great store aboard the Admiral in respect [that she is] near 100 men more than her complement.

There is entertained by the General a ship of Plymouth of 140 tons, and a bark of 40 tons,[1] and victual preparing to be laid aboard them within seven days, and to come after the fleet for the better maintenance of the army to tarry out the season of the year, [that we may be] the better enabled to do our gracious mistress such service as may be to the honour of God, the safety and contentment of her Majesty and realm, and a satisfaction of your honourable expectation.

The General with all care doth hasten the service, and sticketh not at any charge to further the same. So, good sir, there shall not want a dutiful mind in me to discharge the trust committed to my charge, and to show myself as to deserve your good opinion, which I greatly desire.[2]

The General spareth not in great charge to divers men of valour, as also layeth out great sums of money to soldiers and mariners to stir up their minds and satisfy their wants in good sort.

There is good order and care taken for preservation of victual, and men very well satisfied therewith, the General encouraging them. God blessing the service with happiness, they shall be liberally rewarded.

Thus beseeching the Almighty to bless your honour with great happiness, for which I will daily pray, as one deeply bounden thereunto in all humility,

[1] Probably the 'Bark Hawkyns' and the 'Makeshift' pinnace. The term 'bark' was used very loosely by Elizabethan sailors. Its characteristic features cannot have been very distinctly marked. See Appendix B.

[2] He was in command of the Dreadnought, and, according to some accounts, rear-admiral of the fleet. Cf. *post*, p. 188.

I take my leave. From aboard her Majesty's ship the Dreadnought, this first of April 1587.

Your honour's to command
in all dutifulness,
THOMAS FENNER.

The number and names of the ships in company and consort now in the Sound of Plymouth, this first of April, 1587.

	Tons
The Elizabeth Bonaventure [1]	550
The Golden Lion [1]	550
The Rainbow [1]	500
The Dreadnought [1]	400
The White Lion [2]	150
The Merchant Royal [3]	400
The Susan [3]	350
The Edward Bonaventure [3]	300
The Margaret and John [3]	210
The Solomon [3]	200
The George Bonaventure [3]	150
The Thomas Bonaventure [3]	150
The Drake [4]	80
The Makeshift	50
The Spy [1]	50
The Speedwell	50
The Little John	100

[1] Queen's ships. Drake's flagship was the Bonaventure, and the Lion that of Borough, the Vice-Admiral. Bellingham had the Rainbow.

[2] The Lord Admiral's.

[3] London ships. The Margaret and John belonged to Watts, one of the most successful organisers of privateers. The three Bonaventures belonged to the Levant Company. The Merchant Royal was Admiral of the London squadron, and *ex-officio* apparently rear-admiral of the fleet.

[4] Drake's own. The Drake was the French prize illegally condemned in the expedition of 1585. (See *ante*, p. 40.) Drake kept it and paid compensation to the owners. The Thomas, or Thomas Drake, was sacrificed by him as a fire-ship in 1588.

	Tons
The Cygnet[1]	25
The Post	30
The Minion[2]	200
The Thomas[3]	200
The bark Hawkins	130
The Elizabeth[3]	70
	4,895

Countermand of Drake's Orders

COUNCIL TO SIR FRANCIS DRAKE

[**S.P. Dom. cc. 17.**—Amended draft.]

After our hearty commendations: whereas upon sundry advertisements and intelligences received at divers times this last winter, very probably reported as well out of Spain as from other countries, of great numbers of ships and other provisions for the sea, prepared by the said King with intent (as it was given out) to employ the same in some attempt either against this realm or the realm of Ireland: her Majesty did think it very convenient, both for her honour and for necessary defence, [in order] to have some strength of shipping at sea to prevent or withstand such enterprises as might be attempted against her Highness's said realms or dominions, to set forth to the seas under your charge certain of her own ships with further authority given you to take and call into your company as well certain ships set out by some of the merchants of the City of London, as also such other ships of this realm as you should find

[1] Queen's pinnace.

[2] Probably Sir William Wynter's. In 1588, and perhaps in this year, she was commanded by young William Wynter

[3] Drake's own She was also called the Elizabeth Drake.

abroad at sea, and to employ them as you should see cause for her Majesty's service: Since your departure, her Majesty being otherwise advertised that neither the said preparations were so great as was reported, and further that there are of late dissolved [1] divers ships, as well of the East Countries as also of Holland and Zeeland, who had been before stayed upon pretence to furnish the said preparations, being discharged and licensed to return home: and perceiving also by some other matter that hath proceeded from the said King of Spain and his ministers that he is desirous that the unkindness and jars happened of late years between her Majesty and him might be in some honourable sort compounded: her Majesty, for her part, loth for these considerations to exasperate matters further than they are, or to give cause to the world to conceive by any thing that may proceed from her or any of her ministers or subjects that the present alteration between the said King and her is maintained or nourished by her, otherwise than forced thereunto for her own defence: Hath commanded us to signify unto you in her name, that her express will and pleasure is you shall forbear to enter forcibly into any of the said King's ports or havens, or to offer violence to any of his towns or shipping within harbouring, or to do any act of hostility upon the land. And yet, notwithstanding this direction, her pleasure is that both you and such of her subjects as serve there under you should do your best endeavour [as well by force or otherwise] [2] (avoiding as much as may lie in you the effusion of Christian blood) to get into your possession such shipping of the said King or his subjects as you shall find at sea, either

[1] *I.e.* 'released.'

[2] This passage is erased and the bracketed passage that follows substituted in the margin.

going from thence to the East or West Indies or returning from the said Indies into Spain, and such as shall fall into your hands, to bring them into this realm without breaking bulk until her Highness's pleasure shall be further made known unto you in that behalf.[1]

Despatch

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO WALSYNGHAM

[**S.P. Dom. cc. 2.**—Addressed, with seal.[2] Holograph.]

Right Honourable,—This last night past came unto us the Royal Merchant with four of the rest of the London fleet; the wind would permit them no sooner. We have since their coming agreed upon all conditions between us and them,[3] and have found them so well affected, and so willing in all our good proceedings, as we all persuade ourselves there was never more likely in any fleet of a more loving agreement, than we hope the one of the other. I thank God I find no man but as all members of one body to stand for our gracious Queen and country against Antichrist and his members.

[1] This order rescinding at the last moment the permission Drake had obtained for dislocating the Spanish mobilisation by operating on the coast of Spain is highly characteristic of Elizabeth as a War Minister. Fortunately it was never delivered. Drake had sailed before it reached Plymouth. It was sent after him in a pinnace belonging to Sir William Wynter, and commanded by a 'base son' of Hawkyns's, if we may believe one of his enemies. Instead of following Drake, the young commander made a flaw of bad weather an excuse for giving up the attempt, and going for cruise in the Channel on his account, which resulted in a prize worth 5,000*l.* (See *post*, pp. 145, 148, 199, 251.)

[2] The seal has the fess wavy between two stars, granted to Drake on his knighthood. The crest is broken, and it is not clear whether it is the family crest or that granted with the arms.

[3] See next document.

I thank God these gentlemen of great place, as Captain Borough, Captain Fenner,[1] and Captain Bellingham, which are partakers with me in this service, I find very discreet, honest, and most sufficient.

If your honour did now see the fleet under sail and knew with what resolution men's minds do enter into this action, as your honour would rejoice to see them, so you would judge a small force would not divide them.

I assure your honour upon my credit there are many sufficient men in this action, yet there hath divers start[ed] from us within these two days past, and we all think by some practice of some adversaries to the action by letters written.[2] They are most mariners. We have soldiers in their place. I have written to the Justices for the sending of some of those that are run away in our counties, to send them to the gaol, and there to be punished by the discretion of the Judges which are now in the circuit with us. I have written more largely to my Lord-Admiral in this matter, for if there should be no punishment in so great a matter in this so dangerous a time it may do much hurt to her Majesty's service.

I assure your honour here hath been no time lost, neither with the grace of God shall be in any other place. I have upon my own credit supplied such victuals as we have spent and augmented as much as I could get, for that we are very unwilling to return errandless.[3]

Let me beseech your honour to hold a good opinion, not of myself only, but of all these servitors in this action, as we stand nothing doubtful of your honour; but if there be any ill affected, as

[1] MS. 'Vennard.'
[2] No direct justification of Drake's suspicion has been found.
[3] MS. 'arrantless.'

there hath not wanted in other actions, and it is likely this will not go free, that by your honourable good means, whether it be to her Majesty or unto your honour's that the parties may be known, if we deserve ill, let us be punished. If we discharge our duties in doing our best, it is a hard measure to be reported ill by those which will either keep their finger out of the fire, or too well affect to the alteration of our government, which I hope in God they shall never live to see.

The wind commands me away. Our ship is under sail. God grant we may so live in His fear as the enemy may have cause to say that God doth fight for her Majesty as well abroad as at home, and give her long and happy life, and ever victory against God's enemies and her Majesty's. God give your honour perfect health in body and all yours. And let me beseech your honour to pray unto God for us that He will direct us the right way, then we shall not doubt our enemies, for they are the sons of men.

Haste! From aboard her Majesty's good ship the Elizabeth Bonaventure, this 2nd April, 1587.

By him that will always be commanded by you, and never leave to pray to God for you and all yours,[1] FRANCIS DRAKE.

[1] The strong expressions of personal devotion in this letter are no mere forms. The Foreign Secretary was the man above all others to whom Drake owed his advancement to the royal favour. It was he who introduced him to the Queen when he was comparatively unknown. He had been the most active promoter of his voyage into the Pacific, and a consistent supporter throughout of the policy of open hostility to Spain on the sea, and from the first he had recognised Drake as the instrument that was required.

DRAKE AND THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS

[**Lansdowne MSS. lvi. No. 52.**—Certified Copy of Agreement. Endorsed in Burghley's hand.]

WHEREAS it hath pleased her most excellent Majesty to grant unto me, Sir Francis Drake, Knight, her commission, bearing date the fifteenth day of March in the nine and twentieth year of her Majesty's reign, for a service to be done by me, the said Sir Francis, with four of her Majesty's ships and two pinnaces: and whereas Thomas Cordell, John Watts, Paul Bayninge, Simon Boreman, Hugh Lee, Robert Flick, and their partners, merchants of London, have also prepared at their own proper costs and charges ten merchant ships and pinnaces, also for her Majesty's service—Wherefore I, the said Sir Francis Drake, do by virtue of my said commission covenant, promise, and grant to and with the said Thomas Cordell, John Watts, Paul Bayninge, Simon Boreman, Hugh Lee, Robert Flick, and their partners,[1] for the better performance of the pretended service, to consort with the said merchant ships, which I do also receive under my government: and that whatsoever commodity in goods, money, treasure, merchandises, or other benefit whatsoever shall happen to be taken by all or any of the foresaid ships or their company, either by sea or land, that the same shall be equally divided according to their proportions (that is to say) man for man, and ton for ton, to be divided at the sea presently after the possession thereof, or so soon as wind and weather will permit. Provided always that whatsoever

[1] Cordell and Bayninge were prominent Levant merchants. Watts was the famous organiser of privateers frequently mentioned in Hakluyt; Flick the commodore of the London Squadron.

pillage shall be had either by sea or land shall be divided indifferently—viz., the one half to the company in her Majesty's ships, and the other half to the company of the merchant ships; and for the better satisfying of both parties, there shall be meet men put aboard of either fleet to have special care thereof. And for the performance hereof, I, the said Sir Francis Drake, have hereunto set my hand and seal. Given the eighteenth day of March, 1586,[1] and in the nine and twentieth year of the reign of our sovereign lady Elizabeth, by the grace of God Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c.

Vera copia et examinata per me,
RICH. MAY, *Notary Public.*

Despatch
WALSYNGHAM TO STAFFORD[2]

[S.P. For.: France, vol. 88.—Extract.]

Sir Francis Drake, as I doubt not but you have heard, is gone forth to the seas with four of her Majesty's ships and two pinnaces and between twenty and thirty merchant ships. His commission is to impeach the joining together of the King of Spain's fleet out of their several ports, to keep victuals from them, to follow them in case they should be come forward towards England or Ireland, and to cut off as many of them as he could, and impeach their landing, as also to set upon such as should either come out of the West or East Indies into Spain, or go out of Spain thither; but now upon knowledge received that the King doth dis-

[1] *I.e.* 1587.
[2] Sir Edward Stafford, English ambassador at Paris.

solve his preparations, having already discharged the Easterlings, there is new order sent unto Sir Francis Drake to take a milder course, for that he was before particularly directed to distress the ships within the havens themselves.[1]

Despatch

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO WALSYNGHAM

[**S.P. Dom. cc. 46.**—Signed, addressed, and sealed.]

Right Honourable,—These are to give to understand that on the second of this month we departed out of the Sound of Plymouth; we had sight of the Cape Finisterre[2] the fifth; we were encountered with a violent storm during the space of five days, by which means our fleet was put asunder, and a great leak sprang upon the Dreadnought. The 16th we met all together at the Rock,[3] and the 19th we arrived into the Road of Cadiz,[4] in Spain, where we found sundry great ships, some laden, some half-laden, and some ready to be laden with the King's provisions for England. We stayed there until the 21st, in which meantime we sank a Biscayan of 1,200 tons, burnt a ship of the Marquess of Santa Cruz of 1,500 tons, and 31 ships more of 1,000, 800, 600, 400 to 200 tons the piece, carried away four with us laden with provisions, and departed

[1] The new orders never reached him; see pp. 100–2.

[2] MS. 'Venester.'

[3] Cape Roca, known to our seamen as the Rock of Lisbon.

[4] Here and elsewhere, except when otherwise mentioned, the MSS. have 'Cales.' The place was always so called in England at this time. The reason is not clear. Cadiz, or Cadis, was its Spanish name, from the Roman 'Gades.' 'Cale,' or 'cala,' meant an inlet, such as that which formed the port of Cadiz; but Portus Cala was the old name of Oporto, not of Cadiz. (Taylor, *Names and their Histories.*) 'Cales' was pronounced as one syllable, being used as a rhyme for 'Wales' and often written 'Caels.'

thence at our pleasure, with as much honour as we could wish, notwithstanding that during the time of our abode there we were both oftentimes fought withal by twelve of the King's galleys, of whom we sank two, and always repulsed the rest, and were without ceasing vehemently shot at from the shore, but to our little hurt, God be thanked; yet at our departure we were courteously written unto by one Don Pedro, general of those galleys.[1] I assure your honour the like preparation was never heard of nor known, as the King of Spain hath and daily maketh to invade England. He is allied with mighty Princes and Dukes in the Straits, of whom (besides the forces in his own dominions) he is to have great aid shortly, and his provisions of bread and wines are so great as will suffice 40,000 men a whole year, which, if they be not impeached before they join, will be very perilous. Our intent therefore is, by God's help, to intercept their meetings by all possible means we may, which I hope shall have such a good success as shall tend to the advancement of God's glory, the safety of her Highness's royal person, the quiet of her country, and the annoyance of the enemy. This service, which by God's sufferance we have done, will (without doubt) breed some alteration of their pretences; howbeit all possible preparations for defence are very expedient to be made. Thus much, touching

[1] From the documents published by Captain Duro (*Armada Invencible*) it appears that the commander of the galleys on the Andalucian Station was Don Martin de Padilla, Conde de Santa Gadea; but it is not known where he was during Drake's attack. The Venetian account (*Venetian Calendar*, viii. 275) and the French account (*Camden Soc. Misc.* v. 33) both agree that they were under the command of one Don Pedro de Acuña or Acugna. A man of this name served as a paid officer in the Armada, but with no important command. Nothing more seems known of him.

our proceedings and farther intent in this action, I have thought meet to furnish unto your honour, and would use more larger discourse, but that want of leisure causeth me to leave the same to the report of this bearer.[1] And so, in very great haste, with remembrance of my humble duty, do take my leave of your honour. From aboard her Highness's good ship the Elizabeth Bonaventure, the 27th of April, 1587.

Your honour's ready
always to be commanded,
FRANCIS DRAKE.

[*Postscript.*—Holograph.]

I dare not a'most write unto your honour of the great forces we hear the King of Spain hath out in the Straits. Prepare in England strongly, and most by sea. Stop him now, and stop him ever. Look well to the coast of Sussex. I will surely write you more, as occasion shall be ministered, and, with the grace of God, will fight with them, for it is the Lord that giveth victory.

I leave the report of divers particulars to the bearer hereof, and pray pardon for not writing with my own hand. I am overcome with businesses.

Your honour's ever ready
FRANCIS DRAKE.

Despatch

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO WOLLEY[2]

[**S.P. Dom. cc. 47.**—Signed and addressed.]

Right Honourable,—Knowing that you, amongst many of my good friends, are desirous to hear of our

[1] Probably Captain Robert Crosse. (See *post*, p. 131.)
[2] Latin Secretary of State.

proceedings in this action, I have thought good to satisfy your expectation with this short advertisement. You shall understand that the 19th of this month we arrived at Cadiz, where, finding divers huge ships loaden and to be loaden with the King's provision for England, of whom we burnt 32, and sank a great argosy, and carried away four with us. We remained in the Road two days, in which time twelve of the King's galleys sundry times encountered us; in which fights we sank two of them, repulsing the residue with very little loss on our parts. Howbeit the ordnance from the shore vehemently thundered at us during our abode there, and the power of the whole country, being raised, resorted in great numbers to their succour, yet (thanked be God) we went thence, in despite of them all, with great honour, being at our departure courteously written unto by one Don Pedro, general of those galleys. Now being well furnished with necessary provision, our intent is (God willing) to impeach the fleet which is to come out of the Straits and divers other places before it join in with the King's forces, in the accomplishment whereof neither willing minds or industry shall be wanting.[1] For want of time I leave the report at large of this good success unto this bearer, and thus in much haste do bid you heartily farewell. From aboard her Majesty's good ship the Elizabeth Bonaventure, the 27th of April, 1587.

Yours, very willing to be commanded,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

[1] This shows that Drake did not regard his attack on Cadiz harbour as the main object of the expedition, as is generally supposed. His views were much more comprehensive, and much more modern. Clearly what he hoped to do was to beat the various Spanish squadrons in detail, or, at least, to prevent their concentration at Lisbon.

[**Postscript.**—Holograph]

There was never heard of so great a preparation [as] the King of Spain hath and doth continually prepare for an invasion, yet no doubt but this which God hath suffered us to perform will breed great alterations. Cease not to pray continually, and provide strongly to defend to prevent the worst.[1]

Hast yours,

FRANCIS DRAKE.

Private Letter

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO JOHN FOXE[2]

[**Harl. MSS. clxvii. fol. 104.**—Copy.]

Addressed To my very lov[ing friend Mr. John Fo]xe,[3] preacher, haste and post haste.

Mr. Foxe,—Whereas we have had of late su[ch happy succe]ss against the Spaniards, I do assure myself that you have faithfully remembered us in your good prayers, and therefore I have not forgotten briefly to make you partaker of the sum thereof.

The 19 of April we arrived with Cadiz Road where we found much shipping, but among the rest 32 ships of exceeding great burden laden and to be laden with provision, and prepared to furnish the King's Navy, intended with all speed against England; the which when we had boarded and thereout furnished our ships with such provision as we thought sufficient, we burned; and although for the space of two days and nights that we continued there we were still endangered, both with thundering shot

[1] The postscript is scrawled in evident haste.

[2] The ecclesiastical historian and martyrologist. He never saw this letter, having died before it was written. Nothing further is known of Drake's relations with him.

[3] The parts within brackets are torn in the MS., and supplied by conjecture.

from the town and assaulted with the roaring cannons of twelve galleys, we yet sunk two of them and one great argosy, and still avoided them with very small hurt; so that at our departure we brought away four ships of provision to the great terror of our enemies and honour to ourselves, as it might appear by a most courteous letter, written and sent to me with a flag of truce by Don Pedro, general of the galleys. But whereas it is most certain that the King doth not only make speedy preparation in Spain, but likewise expecteth a very great fleet from the Straits and divers other places to join with his forces to invade England, we purpose to set apart all fear of danger and by God's furtherance to proceed by all good means that we can devise to prevent their coming. Wherefore I shall desire you to continue a faithful remembrance of us in your prayers that our present service may take that good effect as God may be glorified, His Church, our Queen and country preserved, and the enemy of the truth utterly vanquished, that we may have continual peace in Israel.

From aboard her Majesty's good ship the Elizabeth Bonadventure, in very great haste, this 27 of April, 1587.

Written by the hand of your obedient son in the Lord, William Spenser,[1] and subscribed with Sir Francis's own hand in this sort:

Your loving friend and faithful son
in Christ Jesus,
FRANCIS DRAKE.

(*In addition written with Sir Francis's own hand*)

Our enemies are many, but our Protector com-

[1] Probably Drake's official secretary, and perhaps to be identified with Sir William Spenser, who in 1593 was thought fit to be a 'Treasurer at War.' (*Hatfield Papers*, iv. 461.)

mandeth the whole world; let us all pray continually, and our Lord Jesus will help in good time mercifully.

Yours ever,
FRANCIS DRAKE.

Despatch[1]

[Fragment of copy at back of last document.]

* * * *

The 19 of April one hour afore sunset he entered the harb[our of Cadiz] . . where he was at his [coming in met from] the town with 7 galleys, but the same returned soon [whence they came]. In the road there were about 60 ships besides other small vessels [which] rode under their fortresses, whereof about 20 Fre[nch] ships fled to Port Royal, and some Spaniards whose flight we could not hinder by reason of the shoals.[2] At our entry with our shot we sunk one argosy of about 1,000 tons that carried 30 brass pieces, and was very richly laden. There were before night about 38 ships undertaken, and we victors of the road, for the galleys retired to their fortresses. There came presently from St. Mary Port 2 galleys and other 2 from Port Royal, but in vain, for their chiefest gain was expense of powder and shot.

Of 20 hulks Hollanders confiscate to the King, whose goods were sold to his use, 14 were fired, the other 6 escaped to Port Royal; we fired a carrack belonging to the Marquis of Santa Cruz of 1,400 tons. We fired also 5 great Biscayans, whereof

[1] This is, perhaps, an extract from the missing despatch of Thos. Fenner to Walsyngham, which Fenner refers to as having been sent home with Crosse (see *post*, p. 135). The style, especially in the passage relating to his contempt for galleys, points to Fenner as the author. The first two lines are illegible.

[2] MS. 'schalles.'

4 were lading and taking in of victuals to the King's use for Lisbon, and the fifth being a ship of 1,000 tons was laden for the Indies with iron, spikes, nails, iron hoops, and horseshoes.

Also 3 flyboats of 300 tons laden with biscuit, whereof one was half unladen before in the harbour, and there fired; the other two we took away with us.

Some 10 barks more laden with wine, raisins, figs, oil, wheat, and such like we fired.

There were by supposition 38 barks fired, sunk, and brought away, which amounted unto 13,000 tons of shipping. There rode [1] at Port Royal in sight of us by estimation above 40 sail, besides those that fled out of Cadiz Roads.

During our abode they gave us small rest by reason of their shot from the galleys, fortresses, and shore, where continually they placed new ordnance at places convenient to offend; which notwithstanding, we continually fired their ships as the flood came in, to the end to be cleared of them; the sight of which terrible fires were to us very pleasant, and mitigated the burden of our continual travail, wherein we were busied two nights and one day in discharging, firing, and lading of prov[isions], with reservation for good, laudable, and guardable defence of the enemy.

It pleased God by the general's great care and pains day and night to finish this happy action in her Majesty's service in one day and 2 n[ights], and [we] came out again the Friday in the morning without the loss of any one man at the action, or any hurt, but only the master gunner of the Golden Lion, whose leg was broken with a great piece from the town, but the man like to do well, God be thanked.

In a small carvell that was taken the night before were 5 of our men without the general's knowledge

[1] MS. 'Ridd.'

because he hasted the enterprise with all expedition, which was very needful because the sun was not above one hour high at our approach. This carvell being far astern came in very late, so as the galleys intercepted her with much shot and many muskets, but they would never strike, and so was taken, which was all the loss that we sustained.

Ten galleys came forth after us, but as [though] to make sport with their ordnance. At length the wind scanted, and we cast about for the shore and came to anchor within one league of Cadiz, where the galleys suffered us to ride quietly.

Three of those galleys after some sport departed the same day to St. Lucar to fetch other three galleys and one galleasse that were there, as we understood by advertisement of some of our prisoners.

There were also 3 flyboats at Malaga laden with bread, and bound for Cadiz, and so for Lisbon. We understand of great provision and forces provided within the Straits; but we doubt not but God, as He hath given us this happy victory to the daunting of the enemy, will also bless this army, and therewith daily cut their forces shorter, to his great annoy, and to the honour of our prince and country, which God for ever continue.

We have now tried by experience the galleys' fight, and I assure you that these her Majesty's 4 ships will make no account of 20 of them in case they might be alone and not given to guard others.

There were never galleys that had more fit place for their advantage in fight; for upon the shot that they received they had present succour from the town which they used sundry times—we riding in a narrow gut, the place yielding no better, in that we were driven to maintain the fight until we had fired their ships, which could not be conveniently done but upon the flood, for [that] they might drive clear.

We rest victualled with bread and drink for 6 months in our ships, and have besides two flyboats full laden with bread sufficient for a good army for three months.

We all remain in great love with our general and in unity throughout the whole fleet.

It may seem strange or rather miraculous that so great an exploit should be performed with so small loss, the place to endamage us being so convenient and their force so great as appeared, from whom were shot at us at the least 200 culverin and cannon shot; but in this as in all others our actions heretofore, though dangerously attempted yet happily performed, our good God hath and daily doth make His infinite power manifest to all papists apparently, and His name be by us His servants continually honoured.

FRENCH ACCOUNT OF THE OPERATIONS AT CADIZ.[1]

Advertisement of what passed at Cadiz in the Province of Andalucia, the army of England, commanded by Francis Drake, having arrived there the 29th day of the month of April, 1587.

On Wednesday, April 29, towards five o'clock in the evening, the army of England was discovered coming straight for Cadiz, where Don Pedro de Acugna was with seven galleys;[2] one of which he sent to ascertain what vessels they could be; and the said galley having come within cannon-shot, was

[1] The original French is printed in the *Camden Society Miscellany*, v. 35, with the reference 'S.P. France.' A shortened form in Italian, apparently taken from the same original, was sent to Venice by the Venetian Ambassador at Madrid. It will be found in the *Venetian Calendar*, No. 513.

[2] The Italian account says one galleon also.

fired upon by the English, which caused her to return to the port, whereby it was known they were enemies. The alarm was given immediately throughout the town, which got under arms, withdrawing into the citadel the women and all persons incapable of taking part in the defence, and in the confusion wherein they were, twenty-seven women and children were suffocated in the press and at the entrance of the said citadel.

The governor and the principal men of the town immediately posted the greater number of their people at the most dangerous approaches and wherever the enemy was most likely to land, and while everyone armed himself in the said town, despatches were sent to the Duke of Medina-Sidonia at St. Lucar and to all the neighbouring towns, asking for succour. Meanwhile a number of troops, both horse and foot, formed a *corps de garde* at the bridge, the most favourable point for disembarking. Another party was sent to prevent the enemy destroying a bridge by which the succours must enter. The enemy having entered the haven commenced to send to the bottom the ships that came in their way, amongst others a great Genoese ship loaded with merchandise very rich, five others of Spain loaded and equipped for the voyage to the Indies, and a great galleon of Biscay of 700 tons burden ; and all the said vessels were lost, for the enemy fired them all, after having taken out what seemed good to them.

At the encountering of the said army there was captured in the haven by a galley a bark, wherein were four or five Englishmen, from whom it was learned that the said army had come in thirteen days from England to Cadiz, with intention to sack the town. Don Pedro de Acugna meanwhile came into action with the galleys to spoil the enemy,

whose artillery being of longer range than that of the galleys,[1] compelled them to draw off.

All the night was passed in great panic and confusion in the town, and the said enemy having found the galleys in the haven and seeing the resistance that was preparing to be made to them, made no attempt to land their men, and as the better game, fell to gutting and burning the vessels which they could board. Wherein God wrought a great mercy to this people, since terror and confusion had left them in a marvellous panic.

The neighbouring towns and villages were all night long making ready their succours, and a party came in at dawn, and the rest were marching thither and came in from hour to hour.

On Thursday at daylight the galleys put themselves a second time into action to attack the enemy, with whom rested so great an advantage by reason of the quantity and power of their artillery that the galleys were compelled to draw off.

The enemy sent a number of barks to set fire to the vessels. So that they were able to board a great galleon of the Marquess of Santa Cruz, of 800 tons burden, loaded with wines ; and there were boarded by the enemy five other Biscay ships, and six or seven Turks, partly loaded with munitions of war and victuals, and all were gutted. Thereafter the enemy set them on fire.

The said Thursday, in the morning, the enemy made as though they would attempt to destroy the bridge, by which they saw our succours entering ; howsoever, seeing two galleys and some other vessels drawn up to defend it, they made no attempt.[2]

[1] French : 'estant de plus grande portée que celle des galleres.' Italian : 'tiravano di piu lontano delli nostri.'

[2] The Italian account adds : 'and so could not attack the ships for the Indies which lay there.'

Towards noon the army put itself in very fine order, and made as though they would set sail; but the wind did not serve and blew inshore. Meanwhile again the artillery of the galleys and the citadel never ceased to fire, so as to spoil them; but theirs carried so much further than the others that no harm was done, and the galleys were always forced to draw off.

On Thursday, during the day, there came into Cadiz 3,000 footmen of different places, and 300 horse; the greater part being brought by the Duke of Medina-Sidonia, who came in towards noon, and the town was saved. At nightfall the guards were set and strengthened notwithstanding that they well knew the enemy intended to retire, and towards midnight a land wind having sprung up the army made sail, and the galleys followed it. And at the same time the Duke of Medina-Sidonia despatched a light boat to follow the said army, until it could make certain of the course it was taking: which is what passed up to Friday morning, the first day of May.

It is estimated that it must be carrying off 2,900 pipes of wine, 10,000 quintals of biscuits, 10,000 loads of cheese, and a quantity of other victuals and munitions of war; [besides] a great number of arms and artillery, which it took from nineteen vessels, that it burnt in the haven.

Some estimate that the damage which the said army has done amounts to three or four hundred thousand crowns; others say much more, which cannot yet be valued in so short a time. They suppose that the said army will take its course for the Canary Islands, Madeira or Terceira, and that it will there do all the damage it can, and cruise for the fleets which are coming from the Indies, upon which Drake most likely has his main design.

Relation of the ships of the army of Francis Drake :—

Two flagships (*cappitaines*), large vessels, and very well built for war, each of the burden of 500 tons or thereabout.

Two vice-flagships (*amirailles*) of the same type and burden as the first two.

A large ship of the same sort of 400 tons burden.

Two galleons very well built for war of 200 tons burden.

Seven ships of 150 tons, nearly all well armed and provided with very good artillery.

Thirteen frigates, very fine, of 50 tons burden or thereabout.

The great ships each bring as tenders two or three barks for landing 30 or 40 men at a time.

Which are in all twenty-seven vessels, without the barks, wherein two English prisoners said they had not more than 4,000 men, including mariners.[1]

[1] The Spanish official report of their losses at Cadiz is given by Duro (*Armada Invencible*, i. 334) in ducats as follows :—

Three hulks from Malaga with 3,443 quintals of biscuit of his Majesty's. They burnt the one and carried off the other two with 2,000 quintals and her Flemish crew. Value, 10,000.

Two hulks of 400 and 200 tons with 392 pipes of wine of his Majesty's—burnt. Value, 15,000.

A Portuguese ship (*navio*) with 3,288 bushels of wheat of his Majesty's—burnt. Value, 5,000.

A Levant ship (*nave*) of 600 tons—sunk. She was taking in a cargo for Italy of cochineal, hides, wool, and other merchandise. Value, 40,000.

A Biscay ship (*nao*), new—burnt with more than 200 quintals of iron and other merchandise. Value, 20,000.

The Marquess of Santa Cruz's galleon—burnt. Value, 18,000.

Four ships (*naos*) of the New Spain fleet—burnt. Value, having no cargo, 15,000.

A Portuguese vessel (*naveta*), loading for Brazil with wine and other merchandise—burnt. Value, 6,000.

Private letter.

R. T[HROGMORTON?] TO DR. GILBERT GIFFORD

[**Lansdowne MSS. xcvi. 24.**]

Good cousin Gifford, Lo! here a full amends that I wrote not news to you but to Dr. Stillings in my other, after which, three hours, I send these particulars; for I wrote only to him in general that Drake had played his pageant and returned home. Here the manner how!

The 29 April last he discovered himself before Cadiz, in Spain, where the wind and weather failing him, as God would, he could not in two days enter the river; but upon Saturday he did. In this meantime they prepared themselves, planted artillery upon their bridge, and furnished their galleys. The merchant strangers being very many in number, abandoned all their ships, so as 22 of them were sunk and taken without any resistance, whereof he carried only away with him six which he spoiled upon the seas, and after sunk them also. His spoil he got is small or nothing worth to England, great loss to the owners, which were all Spaniards, and Italians of Venice, Lucca, Florence, Genoa, save

Five hulks, four empty and one with salt—burnt. Value, 16,000.

A bark (*barqueta*), laden with raisins and molasses—taken. Value, 2,000.

An 'escorchapin,' laden with wines and merchandise—taken. Value, 8,000.

A French ship (*nao*), with a cargo of wines and cochineal—taken. Value, 10,000.

A vessel (*naveta*) bound for Biscay with wines and merchandise—taken. Value, 5,000.

From a bark (*barco*), laden for Seville out of the Biscay ship, they took 200 muskets. Value, 1,100.

A French vessel (*naveta*)—run aground. Value, 1,000.

In all 24 [really 23] vessels (*bajeles*); 18 burnt or sunk, and 6 taken. Total value, 172,000 ducats, of which 17,426 concern his Majesty and the rest private persons.

one ship of a Frenchman's worth some eight or ten thousand ducats. The whole loss in general (for Don Diego, who wrote the news, wrote also the particulars) doth not surmount to above 170,000 ducats; whereof the King's part is least of all, not 7,000 ducats in victuals, for galleys he lost none.[1] But Don Marquis de Santa Cruz lost his own princely bark, esteemed at the value of 18,000 ducats, which warmeth him, who, for fear of losing his honour before, was always hanging back from meddling or matching with English pirates. The rest be most of it the said four states of Italy, who voweth and sweareth the robbery and arrest of all English ships they can come by in Italy or elsewhere. This, coming upon the neck of the infamy of murdering the Scottish Queen, will hasten her ruin no doubt. Sure all report they fought most valiantly, with what loss only themselves know; but the fight was reasonably long, and God gave to the galleys during [it] a marvellous calm to their great advantage and the enemy's spoil, yet was it not noted that any of Drake's[2] ships were sunk presently, though most of them banged vilely, and no doubt many of their men slain and hurt. But when Drake saw[3] their pretence prevented and provided for, and the town forewarned of their coming, he perceived they had had advertisement, and so retired. Their pretence to have taken that haven there, and so to have in those straits joined with Moors, infidels, and others, to have all traffic from Spain either from the Indias or from Mare Mediterraneum, a devilish device if it had taken success. Here Waad[4] and the Ambassador sweareth

[1] Compare the official return (*ante*, p. 120 *n.*) which gives the King's loss at 17,426.

[2] MS. 'Draecke's.'

[3] MS. 'see.'

[4] MS. 'Waid.' Probably Sir William Waad, a clerk of the Council, who was employed on minor diplomatic and confidential missions about this time. Cf. *post*, p. 195.

that some of the Privy Council at home be traitors and bewrayed the matter, and so have overthrown the realm.[1] God be praised he sped no better. Either this or nothing will make seek revenge. These news being so true, so particular, and so fresh, I doubt not but I have made you amends, good cousin; yea, I suppose as yet your Princes there have not these particulars, and therefore use them as yours; but read them not in the Hall till Mr. Dr. Stillings have read his, which be only but three hours older. Adieu once again, good cousin. Commend me most effectually to your mother and sister. I trust all three my friends. This Corpus Christi even.

Your cousin,

R. T.[2]

The Vice-Admiral's Protest

WILLIAM BOROUGH TO SIR FRAS. DRAKE

[**S.P. Dom. cc. 57, ccii. 14 ii., Lansd. MSS. lii. 39.**—Copies.]

My very good Admiral,—For that hitherto in all this voyage since our coming forth (albeit there have been often assemblies of the captains of this fleet aboard of you, called by a flag of council, which I have judged had been chiefly for such purpose), I could never perceive any matter of council or advice touching the action and service for her Majesty with the fleet now under your charge to be effectually propounded and debated, as in reason I judge there ought to have been, as well for the

[1] This was quite untrue. Drake's attack on the Cadiz shipping was a complete surprise to the Spaniards.

[2] This letter is addressed 'A Monsieur, Monsieur Doctor Gifford au "seminarie" de Anglais, Rome,' and was probably written by one of the Shropshire Throgmortons, whowere concerned in the Babington plot, to his kinsman Dr. Gilbert Gifford, who became the channel of communication between the conspirators and the Spanish Ambassador. (See *Hatfield Papers*, iii. pp. 110, 346, &c., and *Spanish Calendar*, 1580–86 *passim*.)

better ordering of the affairs, business, and attempts, as also for your own security. (For when you shall deal by advice and counsel of such as are appointed for your assistance, and such other of experience as may be worthy to be called thereunto, howsoever the success fall out, it shall be the better for your discharge.) But at all and every such assembly you have either showed briefly your purpose what you would do as a matter resolved in yourself (and of yourself for ought that I know, unless you have called unto you such as haply will soothe you in anything you shall say, and so concluded the matter with his or their consents beforehand) in such sort, as no reason made by any other not fully agreeing with your own resolution could be accepted to take any place. Wherein we, I speak chiefly for my own part, have served but as witnesses to the words you have delivered; or else you have used us well by entertaining us with your good cheer, and so most times after our stay with you most part of the day we have departed as wise as we came, without any consultation or council holden.[1]

[1] Drake's autocratic method of exercising his command was probably quite without precedent in an important expedition. At a time when commanders-in-chief were appointed rather for their rank than their technical knowledge, the council of war had a status that was something more than consultative. Even in the middle of the next century, when Monck was left in sole command of the fleet by Deane's death, he assured his council of war that its decisions should be as binding on him as an Act of Parliament. Discipline amongst officers was very lax in the sixteenth century, and the most important function of a commander-in-chief was by the authority of his high rank to maintain order among them and make them act together. He may almost be regarded as little more than the president of the council of war and chief executive officer of the oligarchy of senior officers. Borough, as one of the Officers of the Admiralty, as a veteran admiral, who had won a brilliant naval action years before in the Baltic, as a recognised authority on maritime affairs, and as Vice-Admiral of the fleet, naturally felt sore at Drake's revolutionary method of proceeding without consulting him.

This manner of assemblies (albeit it may please you to term them either councils or courts) are far from the purpose, and not such as in reason they ought to be. You also neglected giving instructions to the fleet in time and sort as they ought to have had, and as it ought to be, for which I have been sorry, and would gladly it had been otherwise; but I have found you always so wedded to your own opinion and will that you rather disliked, and showed as that it were offensive unto you, that any should give you advice in anything. At least I speak it for myself, for which cause I have refrained often to speak that which otherwise I would, and in reason in discharge of the duty I owe to her Majesty and the place I serve in I ought to have done: which place you make no account of, nor make any difference between it and the other captains; nay, you deal not so with me as you do to other. Your affection may lead you therein, and to love and use any man better than you do me is no cause of reason why I should dislike it, for myself or any man may be likewise affected to one man more than another; but I looked to be well used by you in respect of and according to my place, which I find not. I have served in place as I do now, Vice-admiral[1] at the sea unto the now Lord Admiral of England; it pleased his Lordship to use me well and accounted of me according to the place for the time. I have served her Majesty as her Admiral at the Seas as you are now, and do think that I should not have been appointed for this service and in this place, with such words from her Majesty, except I had been thought meet to take charge of such a fleet if you should miscarry.[2] I have had instructions for com-

[1] MS. 'viz. admiral.' Borough always thus wrote 'Vice-Admiral.'

[2] This passage is highly interesting as throwing light on

mission for divers services committed to my charge, with as large and ample words in effect as you have now.[1] For, as I take it, the substance of the scope that is given you is this: for that by information the King of Spain is preparing a great army by sea, part at Lisbon, other in Andalucia, and within the Straits, all which was judged should meet at Lisbon, and the same to come for England, or some part of her Majesty's dominions; her Majesty's pleasure is, by advice of her Majesty's Council, that you, with these ships now under your charge, should come hither to this Cape,[2] and upon this coast, and seek by

English naval rank at this time. Borough does not found his claim to respect on being Drake's Vice-Admiral, but on being 'Vice-Admiral at the Sea unto the Lord Admiral,' as though he considered he held a kind of independent command, and was in the position of having consorted with Drake. Drake held a senior command as 'Admiral at the Sea to the Queen,' but not necessarily a superior one, except in so far as they had consorted together, Drake *ex-officio* taking the chief command of the combined squadrons, in the same way apparently as Flick as the Admiral of the London squadron became rear-admiral. Borough's attitude should be compared with that of Drake, when in 1588 Howard was ordered to join him at Plymouth with the main fleet. In this case Drake thought he was behaving very handsomely when, from patriotic motives, instead of insisting on his position as 'Admiral at the Sea to the Queen,' he accepted a vice-admiral's flag at Howard's hands, and he continued to insist that he was by right the Queen's Vice-Admiral and not Howard's, though he served as vice-admiral in the combined fleet commanded by Howard. (See *Ubaldino*, No. 2, *Bib. Reg.*, 14 A. xi.) In the subsequent proceedings arising out of Drake's charges against Borough, it should be noted he is officially styled 'Vice-Admiral of the Seas with Sir Francis Drake.' (See *post*.

[1] For Borough's services see *post*, p. 296.

[2] St. Vincent. Drake's plan of campaign seems to have been to take up a permanent station at this point, whereby he would be in a position to intercept the East and West Indian convoys, to paralyse the Spanish mobilisation by stopping the coastwise traffic, and to prevent the Italian and Andalucian squadrons concentrating at Lisbon. To do this it was necessary to destroy the works commanding the anchorage and watering places. It

all the best means you can to impeach their purpose and stop their meeting at Lisbon, if it might be; whereof the manner how is referred to your discretion. This is the effect of your instructions (as I remember), and such like in effect I have received divers, which I can show. Now, that you should construe these words to go whither you will, and to attempt and do what you list, I think the words will not bear you out in it; and therefore I pray you (for your own good) advise yourself well in those matters you purpose to attempt, which may not well be maintained by the words of your instructions.

The chief cause that moved me to write you thus much is, for that it pleased you yesterday to tell me that you purposed to land at the Cape, for surprising the castle of Cape Sagres, or the abbey to the eastward of it (or both). I heard speeches and debating of such matter intended by you by divers as they were standing in troops upon the deck before the steerage[1] of your ship, before you told it me, and I heard the like there amongst them also after you had told it me. I could not perceive any of them to like there should be any landing upon this coast near those places, neither for taking the castle or abbey, nor yet for fresh water, for that there is no watering place nearer than half a mile from the water side, which is but a pool, to the which the way is bad. I do not find by your

was this operation that Borough protested against as beyond Drake's instructions. Drake took a different view, and Borough quotes no definite prohibition to land beyond an alleged verbal one from the Lord Admiral, which Drake would naturally not regard as binding. Borough, it will be seen, entirely failed to grasp the strategical importance of the place.

[1] 'The steerage is that part of the ship where he standeth who steereth (that is, guideth) the ship with the helm; and it is always (in ships of war) before the bulkhead of the great cabin—that is, the captain's cabin' (Boteler's *Sea Dialogues*, 101).

instructions any advice to land, but I remember a special caveat and advice given you to the contrary by the Lord High Admiral. Now the landing at this place for the attaining of three or four pieces of ordnance that may be in the castle, and perhaps as many in the abbey, if you should achieve your purpose (as yesterday it was reasoned and alleged amongst them), what have you of it? No matter of substance, neither shall any man be bettered by it, but a satisfying of your mind that you may say, 'Thus I have done upon the King of Spain's land.' But, sir, I would have you to consider that though you have a great mind to attempt the thing in hope of good success, yet you may miss of your purpose; for [some] of your own captains that should serve for the land have said that if they were in either of those two places, being such as they are reported, with one hundred good men, they would not doubt to keep you out with all the force you can make. And shall we think that the people of this country are so simple that upon such advertisements of us as they have, and our being continually in their sight thus many days as we have been, that they will not seek to provide for those places, and for the coasts hereabout, as well as they can? Surely I do not think so of them, and therefore the getting of them may be doubtful; and so may it be doubted of your safe landing and safe returning back to the ships without great loss of men, or overthrow by the power that may be raised in the land, which God keep you from.

Besides, you know what galleys we left at Cadiz and of twenty more that are come from Gibraltar. Let us think that the governors under the King have a care for keeping of his coasts, and why may there not be part or the most part of those galleys sent to lie upon this coast, to wait opportunity to take the

advantage upon us (as this night divers of my company said they saw three between us and shore even at the very instant when the gale began)? You know they may be upon the coast near at hand where they may see us, or have intelligence where we are, and what we do from time to time, and yet we not [able] to see them nor have any knowledge of their being. So may they wait for your landing, and cut you off and endanger the fleet (if it be calm and the ships at anchor where they cannot traverse to make play with them); yea, they may trouble us and do some mischief to our fleet, being calm, as of late it hath been, if we keep so near the shore scattered as yesterday and in former time we did, albeit we attempt not to land.

Moreover, to land men requireth a land wind or calm weather and smooth water, that the ships may be brought at anchor near the shore. When men are landed, it is uncertain when they shall return. If in the meantime the wind should chop off into the sea upon the sudden, what then? Do you think it meet that the ships should remain at anchor, and put all in hazard to be lost and cast away?

Consider, I pray you, effectually of these points, for I have done so, and therefore am resolved in opinion that it is not meet nor convenient that you attempt to land here, about which I thought good to advertise rather by writing, which you may keep to yourself or manifest it at your pleasure (for I have done it, as I will answer to every point thereof), than to have said so much openly or in hearing of some, which haply might have been to your disliking.

I pray you take this in good part, as I mean it; for I protest before God I do it to no other end, but in discharge of my duty towards her Majesty and the service, and of good will and well-meaning towards you. Aboard the Lion, in sight of Cape

St. Vincent, this Sunday morn, the 30th of April 1587.

Yours at command,

W. B.

To the Right Worshipful Sir Francis Drake, Knight, her Majesty's Admiral of the fleet here present at the seas, aboard the Elizabeth Bonaventure.

The Vice-Admiral's Apology

BOROUGH TO DRAKE

[**Lansdowne MSS. No. 42, f. 115, and S.P. Dom. ccii. 144.** [Initialed copies.]

Sir,—I am sorry that you make such construction of my letter. I protest I did it only in discharge of my duty for the better performance of her Majesty's service. If you shall willingly accept it so, it is that whereof I shall be very glad, and you shall find as much good will and forwardness in me for the execution of her Majesty's service in this action, as shall become that place and credit that her Majesty and her Highness's Council have thought me worthy of, and myself as worthy to follow your directions, as at any time I have done, or any man shall do. And for further satisfying of you I will do such further matter[1] as these gentlemen shall relate unto you.

Aboard the Lion this Tuesday, the 2 of May, 1587.

Yours to command,

W.B.

To the Right Worshipful Sir Francis Drake, Knight, her Majesty's Admiral of the fleet here

[1] Here is inserted in the margin, 'That was to burn or deliver him the copy of my letter.'

present at the seas. Aboard the Elizabeth Bonaventure.

Endorsed.—Touching the Lion's departing away at the sea from the Admiral, Sir Fra. Drake.

Anno 1587.

Despatch

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO WALSYNGHAM

[**S.P. Dom. cci. 33.**—Addressed. Holograph.]

Since the departing of Captain Crosse,[1] Right honourable, there hath happened between the Spaniards, Portingals, and ourselves divers combats, in the which it hath pleased God that we have taken forts, ships, barks, carvels, and divers other vessels more than a hundred, most laden, some with oars for galleys, planks and timber for ships and pinnaces, hoops and pipe-staves for cask, with many other provisions for this great army. I assure your honour the hoops and pipe-staves were above 16 or 17 hundred ton in weight, which cannot be less than 25 or 30 thousand ton if it had been made in cask ready for liquor, all which I commanded to be consumed into smoke and ashes by fire, which will be unto the King no small waste of his provisions, besides the want of his barks. The nets which we have consumed will cause the people to curse their governors to their faces.[2]

[1] Afterwards Sir Robert Crosse. He was Vice-Admiral of Drake's division in 1588. He presumably had been sent home with the despatches, dated April 27, announcing the success at Cadiz. See p. 109 *n.*

[2] This refers to the destruction of the Portuguese Algarve fisheries, upon which, since the Spaniards had been driven from the Newfoundland and North Sea grounds, the Armada principally depended for its supply of salt fish. It was an additional advantage of the St. Vincent position that it enabled Drake to carry out this operation.

The Portingals I have always commanded to be used well, and set them ashore without the wanting of any of their apparel, and have made them to know that it was unto me a great grief that I was driven to hurt of theirs to the value of one real of plate, but that I found them employed for the Spaniards' services, which we hold to be our mortal enemies, and gave some Portingals some money in their purses and put them aland in divers places, upon which usage, if we stay here any time, the Spaniards which are here in Portingal, if they come under our hands, will become all Portingals and play as Peter did—forswear their master rather than to be sold as slaves.[1] I assure your honour this hath bred a great fear in the Spaniard.

I spoke with the Marquis of Santa Cruz at Cascaes,[2] near Lisbon, by messenger, where he was aboard his galleys, to know whether he would redeem any of his master's subjects, which I had some store of, for such of my mistress's people as he had under his government. The Marquis sent me word that as he was a gentleman he had none, and that I should assure myself that if he had had any he would surely have sent them me; which I knew was not so, for that I had true intelligence by Englishmen and Portingals that the Marquis had divers Englishmen both in his galleys and prisons; but in truth I think the Marquis durst not release our Englishmen before he have orders from his King and liberty from the persecuting clergy. I sent likewise to the General of the King's galleys at Cadiz, and to all such governors as I conveniently might, for the redeeming of the Span-

[1] This is explained by what follows.

[2] MS. 'Castcalles.' The English bias for the termination 'cales' is shown again in this case. Cascaes is often written in English letters 'Cascales.' See p. 107 *n*.

iards. They all answered me kindly, but some had bought a plough of oxen, others had taken a farm, and the rest had married wives; the former prayed to be held excused, and the latter could send us no Englishmen. Whereupon it is agreed by us all, her Majesty's captains and masters, that all such Spaniards as it shall please God to send under our own hands, that they shall be sold unto the Moors, and the money reserved for the redeeming of such of our countrymen as may be redeemed therewith.

In the revenge of these things what forces the country is able to make we shall be sure to have brought upon us, as far as they may with all the devices and traps they can devise. I thank them much they have stayed so long, and when they come they shall be but the sons of mortal men, and for the most part enemies to the truth and upholders of Baal or Dagon's Image, which hath already fallen before the ark of our God with his hands and arms and head strucken off. As long as it shall please God to give us provisions to eat and drink, and that our ships and wind and weather will permit us, you shall surely hear of us near this Cape of St. Vincent, where we do and will expect daily what her Majesty and your honours will further command.

God make us all thankful that her Majesty sent out these few ships in time.

If there were here 6 more of her Majesty's good ships, of the second sort, we should be the better able to keep the forces from joining and haply take or impeach his fleets from all places in the next month and so after, which is the chiefest times of their returns home, which I judge, in my poor opinion, will bring this great monarchy to those conditions which are meet.[1]

[1] Crosse, apparently, had been sent home to solicit reinforcements, so that Drake might retain the station, and intercept the homeward-bound convoys from India and America.

There must be a beginning of any great matter, but the continuing unto the end until it be thoroughly finished yields the true glory. If Hannibal had followed his victories, it is thought of many, he had never been taken by Scipio.[1] God make us all thankful again and again that we have, although it be little, made a beginning upon the coast of Spain. If we can thoroughly believe that this which we do is in the defence of our religion and country, no doubt but our merciful God, for His Christ our Saviour's sake, is able and will give us victory, although our sins be red. God give us grace, we may fear Him, and daily to call upon Him. So shall neither Satan[2] nor his ministers prevail against us. Although God permit Job to be touched in body, yet the Lord will hold his mind pure. Let me be pardoned of your honour again and again for my over much boldness. It is the confession of my own conscience. My duty in all humbleness to your honour, my good lady your yoke partner, and all yours, beseeching you all to pray unto God heartily for us as we do daily for all you. Haste! From her Majesty's good ship the Elizabeth Bonaventure, now riding at Cape Sagres this 17th May 1587.

Your honour's most ready to
be commanded,
FRANCIS DRAKE.

Despatch

THOMAS FENNER TO [WALSYNGHAM]

[**S.P. Dom. cci. 34.**—Signed.]

Sithence my last letters of the accidents at Cadiz some exploits, which hath happened in her Majesty's

[1] This and many similar passages in Drake's letters betray a study of the military text-books of the time. His allusion to Scipio's capture by Hannibal would suggest that he read them in a somewhat perfunctory way, at least so far as classical illustrations were concerned. He writes 'Hanyball' and 'Sepyo.'

[2] MS. 'Sattan.'

service by our General and army, I think it my duty to lay them down as near as God will give me grace and favour in very truth.

The 2nd of May, some 15 leagues from Cape St. Vincent, a flyboat of Dunkirk of 150 tons [was taken], her lading being Spanish goods from Flanders, and as I guess of some good importance, I gather about ten thousand pounds and one other flyboat, laden with timber sold to the Spaniards, of 140 tons.

The 4th of May we drew into the Bay of Lagos,[1] where in a sandy bay somewhat to the westward of the town of Lagos we landed about a thousand men very early upon the 5th of May, and so marched very near three miles unto the town as our march lay. There presented in sight of us divers troops of horsemen, whereat [we being] nothing amazed, but always bending upon their greatest troops, [they] with courtesy gave us passage, so as before we came unto the town they were above 400 horse, which seemed brave but bad masters.[2] They suffered us to march before their fortresses with our whole bands within musket shot, where we exchanged some shot, and by view and surveying the place found it, as now they have made it, of great strength and very warlikely flanked; so that they had in view of us nine platforms and flankers furnished with nine ancients. Which considered we thought it more meet upon some pause, the place being surveyed honourably and treatably, to depart than rashly to attempt the hazard of our companies; carrying ourselves in that course of strength that we made no estimate of their forces, two of their horses slain and one

[1] MS. 'Lawgust.'

[2] MS. 'Mrs.' Lower down the writer uses 'Mr.' for 'master.' In this case he may mean bad 'musters,' *i.e.* badly equipped, or 'bad masters,' *i.e.* 'bad horsemen.'

of their horsemen; and so [we] spent in stands expecting their valours[1] the most part of the day before we drew aboard and boarden in good sort without the loss of any one man.

The 5th of May we drew near unto Cape Sagres, where we landed and marched towards a castle with some companies, some of our shipping landing at a village some leagues to the eastward, where the houses and village were presently fired with some barks and boats. They of that castle made no long abode, leaving in it six pieces of brass, but fled unto another castle within one mile standing upon Cape Sagres, a place of great strength [having] but one way to come to it, with greater scope of ground within it and fair buildings—I guess some hundred acres—environed with the sea and a marvellous high upright cliff on three parts, the front only to approach, which was about one hundred and eighty paces broad with a wall battlemented of forty foot in[2] height, a gate in the midst, a platform at the corners, and four flanks on every side of the gate. God stirred the minds of the General and his company to approach it; and [he] summoned [the governor] whose answer was as he was to assault on the behalf of his lady and mistress, he was to defend in the behalf of his lord and master. Whereupon the weightiness and honour of the cause considered, in that it was meet and most necessary for us to win the place for divers causes, both to give succour unto ourselves in watering and road for our fleet, and withal a great 'pray' against the enemy, [we] resolutely resolved the attempt after some provisions of faggots to burn the gate, having no other means to attain the entry by reason of the great strength. And so [we] began about one of the

[1] MS. 'values.' This form of the word was common at the time.

[2] MS. 'on.'

clock to assail with small shot, so scouring the loops[1] and flanks that the gate was approached, and the assault so maintained that the gate was set on fire and relieved continually; so as within some two hours their captain was hurt in two places, and grew to parley with offer to deliver up the place, their lives and baggage saved, which was granted and perfectly performed. A place of such natural and ingenious strength as [is] a very miraculous matter. But God, who is the giver of all good things, giveth strength unto His and striketh with fear those whom He meaneth to chastise.

There was in the castle near about some hundred and ten men besides women and children, one cannon-perier, one culverin, one demi-culverin, five great Portugal bases with powder and shot.

The sixth day the General marched to another castle of good strength with some bases in it, and took it, and so the Friary and Castle of Cape St. Vincent, and took the same, wherein were seven pieces of brass, and of great strength, having no way to come unto it but one; which two castles he defaced, fired, and brought away their ordnance, and burnt between Cape St. Vincent and five miles to the eastward of Cape Sagres, which I suppose to be nine English miles in length, forty-seven carvells and barks, some of 20, 30, 40, 50, and some of 60 tons, laden with pipe-boards, hoops, twigs, oars, and such like. We burned also some 50 or 60 fisher-boats and great store of nets, to their great damage. This being performed at the Friary, we came again some hours before night unto the brave castle of Cape Sagres, where were left three captains to their companies until our return, when, according to promise, our General suffered the enemy to depart with their baggage, and then prepared for

[1] *I.e.* loop-holes.

fire and fired the same, dismounted their ordnance and threw them over the cliffs, which were not left there, but with great pain and trouble boarded into our boats and brought away. And the same night boarded our companies.

The seventh day in the morning very early we landed at the first castle, which we razed and burned and brought away the ordnance. And notwithstanding this continual service, in the meantime we watered all our fleet and boarded all our ordnance, and then by one of the clock the whole fleet set sail to prosecute further action.

These four castles at the Capes defaced is a matter of great importance, respecting all shipping that come out of the Straits for Lisbon[1] or any part of the northward anchor there until convenient wind serve them. And so any that come from the north likewise anchor there, being bound for Andalucia or the Straits. Thus desiring God to bless our General and us in her Majesty's service to continue in all duty and love to do what becometh the vassals of so worthy a prince, whom God preserve to the amaze of her Majesty's great and mighty enemies, and by this handful to increase that fear which hereby we find them greatly touched withal, in all duty until further occasion I commit your Lordship unto the Almighty.

From aboard her Majesty's good ship the Dreadnought fore Cape Sagres the 17th of May.

Postscriptum

The 10th of this instant month we came in sight of Lisbon[2] and presented ourselves before Cascaes with our whole fleet, many within shot. The Marquess Santa Cruz being hard by with 7 galleys, who being loose bare upon their oars and

[1] MS. 'Luzzbourn.' [2] MS. 'Luzzbourne.'

never shot at us, but beat off many musket shots all day long. There being a very flat calm the most part of the day, [we] made his carvells run aground and other shipping upon the rocks, which he suffered without rescue or impeachment. The next day we kept ourselves loose in the opening, but could see none to approach, but flying every way. The 11th towards the evening, the wind being fair[1] northerly with a stiff gale, we bare for Cape St. Vincent and seized anchoring within Cape Sagres the 12th, at one of the clock, where we washed and purified our ships, washed and amended all things needful, having the country in such awe that no man cometh near us. Shipping we take daily which are bound with pipe-boards and hoops for Andalucia which we burn, whereof they will have so great want as to them [will be] a marvellous offence.

By intelligence we find the greatest provisions of strength out of the Straits, as from Sicilia eight galleons and from Naples four galleasses, and divers galleys out of Italy.

The provisions are so overthrown and wasted, as is wonderful, for in Cadiz we brought away and burnt seven hundred tons of bread.

We hold this Cape so greatly to our benefit and so much to their disadvantage as a great blessing [is] the attaining thereof. For the rendezvous is at Lisbon, where we understand of some 25 ships and 7 galleys. The rest, we lie between home and them, so as the body is without the members; and they cannot come together by reason that they are unfurnished of their provisions in every degree, in that they are not united together.

As there hath been a happy beginning, so we doubt not but God will have the sequel such as it shall appear unto the face of the earth, that it is not

[1] MS. 'far.'

the multitude that shall prevail where it pleases Him to stretch out His favourable and merciful hand. God make us thankful for His blessings and benefits!

I assure your Honour there is no account to be made of his galleys. Twelve of her Majesty's ships will not make account of all his galleys in Spain, Portugal, and all his dominions within the Straits, although there are 150 in number. If it be to their advantage in a calm, we have made such trial of their fights that we perfectly see into the depth thereof. Desiring your Honour to take in good part this simple advertisement as coming from him who desireth greatly the good opinion of your Lordship if deserts move not the contrary.

Your Honour's in all duty to command,

(Subs:) THOMAS FENNER.

Despatch

SIR FRANCIS DRAKE TO WALSYNGHAM

[**S.P. Dom. cci. 38.**—Holograph.]

This flyboat of Dunkirk we took the 1st of May, in the which we have thought it meet to send her Majesty's letters and your honour's for that she sails very well. If her Majesty mind to send unto us after her return into England, I think she will be very meet to be sent us back again.

There is a ship of St. Malo[1] which was brought out of Cadiz by some company of the fleet. Her charter-party was in Spanish; we could find nothing written in French, neither could the master or any give us any reason that we might think it Frenchmen's goods. We have sent her likewise home, to use at your honour's discretion. We have

[1] MS. 'St. Mollowes.' The place was generally called St. Maloes at this time.

here divers letters, which we have taken in the Dunkirker and other French barks, that the Spaniards think it most safe and best cheap to send their goods in French or Breton[1] bottoms. We send two flyboats more with sick men; the most of the sick people are out of the Merchant Royal. The one of those flyboats we have their bills of sale from the Dutch to the Spaniards; the other flyboat hath a pass of your Lordship, and was taken up by the King's officers to lade bread for Lisbon. Thus in haste I humbly take my leave of your honour, 20th May, 1587.

Your honour's ever ready to
be commanded,
FRANCIS DRAKE.

Captain Raymond[2] not only having some businesses of his own, but we all the captains here have thought it meet to commit the charge of this French ship and such goods as are now in her unto him to deliver unto your lordship and the rest of the partners to use according as you shall find them to be Spaniard's or French goods.

Written aboard her Majesty's good ship the Elizabeth Bonaventure this 21st May 1587.

Your honour's always to command,
FRANCIS DRAKE.

[1] MS. 'burttons.'

[2] Probably Captain George Raymond, who commanded the Elizabeth Bonaventure against the Armada, though as the Earl of Cumberland went aboard her just before the Battle of Gravelines, the credit of her performance has always been given to the wrong man. (Carey's *Memoirs*, p. 20.) Cumberland, like Carey, was really only a volunteer. Cf. *Defeat of the Armada*, ii. 338, and for his subsequent services see *Ibid.* i. 16 *n.* and ii. 194–7, also *post* p. 299. In the depositions he is called Raymonte (see *post*, p. 162), and by Howard, Ryman.

Despatch

WM. BOROUGH TO LORD HIGH ADMIRAL

[**S.P. Dom. ccii. 14.**—Addressed and signed. Endorsed in Burghley's hand.]

My last sent unto your good lordship was by Captain Crosse, which bear date the 27th of April, wherein I advertised your honour of all that had passed till then. Since which time we have taken about 28 or 30 ships and barks, whereof one was a flyboat of Dunkirk with merchandise of great value in her, bound for St. Lucar,[1] another a small hulk of Holland, laden with timber, Spaniard's goods, which came from Galicia, bound also for St. Lucar, both which we possess and keep by us. The rest were small carvels and barks of burden between 16 and 40 tons, most of them laden with pipe-boards, hoops, timber, rafters for oars and such like lading of small value, and some had nothing but ballast; all which we consumed with fire, or sunk them, besides a number of small fisher boats that we found about Cape Sagres, whereof some were kept to our ships instead of boats; the rest were spoiled. We landed about 1,100 men, which went before the town of Lagos[2] within musket shot of the walls thereof, but found it so strong that they retired back to our ships without any assault given to the same. The next day men were landed near Cape Sagres and marched to the castle thereof, which they assaulted, and it was yielded the same day. Likewise the same day the castle on Cape St. Vincent and two other forts near those castles were abandoned by the Portingals, whereof our men had the spoil.

[1] MS. 'San Lucas,' at the mouth of the Guadalquivir, the port of Seville.

[2] MS. 'Lawgust.'

After that we also burnt a village of fishermen's cottages about 5 leagues to the eastward of Lagos. Our fleet showed themselves at the entrance of the River Lisbon against Cascaes [1] (in sight of Lisbon), where met us 7 galleys, in the which was the Marquis of Santa Cruz. These are the substance of all matters that have passed whereof I do send your lordship herewith the particular discourse at large and a plat [2] of the coast and those places where we have landed and showed ourselves, whereunto I refer me.

My very good lord, I did write unto Sir Francis Drake my admiral a letter the 30th of April,[3] wherein for discharge of my duty towards her Majesty and the service I did in friendly sort set down my opinion, whereof he made hard construction and took it in very ill part. And after he had kept my said letter two days, which in the meantime by advice was thoroughly scanned, and having noted out such articles as he thought good to examine me upon, when I was before him to answer the same. The principalest points that two of his chief councillors, his Minister and Captain Fenner, could lay to my charge were these—the one said I had charged him with negligence, which is a great fault to be in a governor, and therefore I had greatly offended ; the other said I did not only advise him, but rather instruct and teach him as a tutor what he ought to do, which was likewise an offence. He therefore the 2nd of May displaced me from having any rule or authority, and placed another to have charge of the Lion, and commanded myself to remain in the ship as prisoner in my cabin, which I have done

[1] MS. 'Cascales.'

[2] MS. 'Platt,' *i.e.* a map or chart. The more usual word was 'plot.' For the chart enclosed, see frontispiece.

[3] See *ante*, p. 123.

ever since. The copy of my said letter to him, with a note of the reasons that moved me to write it, as also of his proceedings against me, and of some things that have passed by him in this voyage I do also send your lordship with the same, whereby your lordship may see his manner of dealing, and judge of the cause I have given to be so used by him. I hope I shall be admitted to have indifferent hearing, and do humbly pray your lordship's friendship therein; and, if it may stand with your lordship's good liking, wish it may be before the Council, for I do think myself greatly abused and wronged by him, and that thereby also he hath done wrong both to her Majesty and your lordship; and therefore do hope, albeit in respect he carrieth some fame for dealing against the Spaniards the Queen's Majesty may favour him, and he by his friends will seek by all means he can to uphold his credit and make what matter he may against me, yet that this injury done to me shall not so be passed over, but that his fault may be made known to him and my credit thereby repaired according to equity and reason. I am her Majesty's servant, and hope able to do her Highness as good service by sea as he can.

Because the company by general consent amongst themselves have brought the ship back without order from the Admiral and contrary to the captain's and master's mind, it may please your lordship to determine what shall be said or done to them, and to give order for the same before they have their wages paid. I do send the purser of this ship to your lordship, who will advertise the truth of all things. I purpose to come in with the ship as speedily as I can if I receive not order to the contrary. And so, with my duty always acknowledged, I humbly take my leave. Aboard the Lion,

against Dover, the 5th of June, at 8 o'clock at night, 1587.

Your honourable lordship's humbly
and ready at command,
W. Borough.

Memorandum

REQUEST OF THE MERCHANT ADVENTURERS

[**S.P. Dom. ccii. 27.**]

15 June, 1587.

The spoils of bread, wine, oil, &c., which was taken at Cadiz should have been sent home as merchandise, but the Queen's ships, being victualled at their going forth for not above three months, the same was detained to supply their necessity, whereas the merchant ships were furnished for nine months' victuals to their treble charge, so that they require to have recompense accordingly forth of the goods now sent home.

And further, whereas there was a pinnace sent forth to meet Sir Francis Drake which hath taken a prize worth 5,000*l.* and better, the said merchants desire to have their shares thereof according to equity, so shall they be encouraged to set forward the like services hereafter.[1]

[1] See *post*, p. 148. The following letter from Thomas Cordell to Burghley (*Hatfield Papers*, iii. 281) forms an interesting commentary on the above. 'September 18, 1587.—Being deputed by the merchants adventurers with Sir F. Drake, the sole and only dealer with her Majesty and your honourable lordship, for the obtaining of our portions in those goods brought home by him, and having full authority without account to appear thankful, I have thought it my duty, in regard to your most honourable favours to us in this suit extended, by these letters not only to acknowledge the same, but herewith (when by your furtherance we shall be made able in receipt of our portions) to promise and assure to pay or deliver to your use, and when you

There be certain things concealed which will secretly be divided amongst them that have least deserved, whereof a diligent care for the examination is to be had,

Official Apology for Drake's Campaign

BURGHLEY TO ANDREAS DE LOOE[1]

[**S.P. Flanders, No. 32.**—Corrected draft. Holograph.]

Sir de Looe,—I have received a letter from you dated the 11th of this month directed to myself, and I have seen and read another from you to Mr. Controller,[2] and as in some things they do accord, and in some things they are different though not repugnant, so I have thought good for myself to make you some answer, and do remit to Mr. Controller the charge to answer for himself, and not thinking but that our several answers may tend to one end, for we both are acquainted with her Majesty's sincere good mind to live in peace with all princes. Your letter is very long, as your manner is so to write, which yet I do not mislike, although the matter of your whole letter may be reduced for my answer into a small room.

It seemeth by the Duke's speeches that he continueth in mind to have the treaty to begin for the conclusion of a good peace, and so also I can assure you her Majesty hath the like mind,

shall command, the full sum of 1,000*l.*' The expression 'authority to appear thankful without account' for 'power to bribe to any extent' may be specially noticed as a masterpiece of euphemism. Whether Burghley accepted the present or not, the paper throws a curious light on the way public business was conducted under Elizabeth.

[1] The Duke of Parma's agent in London.

[2] Sir James Crofts, Controller of the Household, Philip's pensioner in the Council.

and so I think all good counsellors to both the states are earnestly inclined. Now, therefore, seeing both parties profess their allowance of a peace, it is to be considered from whence the impediment groweth. I see what is said there on the Duke's part that he is ready to appoint Commissioners to meet with ours, but in the meantime he proceedeth with all his forces that he can command to besiege, batter, assault, and by blood to destroy a town guarded with her Majesty's people. I mean Sluys.[1] Also that he had offered the like attempt to Ostend.

Now how these two actions do agree is easily to be seen, to offer to treat of peace in words and to use all actions of a bloody war at the same instant. Therefore, to conclude plainly, I find her Majesty well disposed to have a treaty, and to have her Commissioners ready also to take shipping, if the Duke shall forbear his present hostility against Sluys, and if he be thereto disposed he may find commodity to accord with the Earl of Leicester, her Majesty's lieutenant and the Governor of the Provinces United, for some reasonable manner of a cessation or interim of arms. Whereupon, if the Duke shall not be willing then, upon advertisement thereof with assurance to effectuate the same, then it will be hard to induce her Majesty to send her Commissioners out of the realm, and therefore the sooner her Majesty may be advertised hereof the sooner will some success follow. And beside this, before our Commissioners may take shipping to come into those parts, it is right that

[1] Sluys was being heroically defended by Sir Roger Williams with 1,000 men. At the end of the month, after an abortive attempt to relieve it by Leicester and Prince Maurice, it surrendered. Parma is said to have lost from five to six thousand men in the siege.

there be a safe conduct for their passage by sea, which I pray you remember to obtain, if the cessation of arms shall take place. Thus much shortly for answer of your letter, but I marvel you give us no light, what may be hoped to be obtained for the people of the Provinces United, to enjoy their religion and exercise thereof, a matter whereof I did always warn you that without the same I never could hope of any sound conclusion or effect of peace.

When I had written thus far, and had read it over, being ready to sign it, I bethought myself that you would think I had not answered one great scruple mentioned in your letter by the Duke remembered, which was that he misliked greatly the actions of Sir Fras. Drake, doubting that they might alienate the King's mind from the inclining to peace, whereunto this answer ought to satisfy you, to be delivered if hereafter the Duke shall reiterate that scruple. True it is, and I avow it upon my faith, her Majesty did send a ship expressly with a message by letters charging him not to show any act of hostility before he went to Cales; which messenger by contrary winds could never come to the place where he was, but was constrained to come home, and hearing of Sir Fras. Drake's actions her Majesty commanded the party that returned to have been punished, but that he acquitted himself by the oath of himself and all his company. And so unwitting, yea unwilling, to her Majesty those actions were committed by Sir Fras. Drake, for the which her Majesty is as yet greatly offended with him. And now for his bringing home of a rich ship that came out of the East Indies. I assure me the Queen knoweth not as yet of what value her lading is, but considering the great losses that her subjects had both by arrest of all their goods in Spain and by taking of their persons and pur-

suing of them to their ruin and death, it cannot be that this ship nor many more the like can satisfy our former losses; and therefore until a peace may be made and finished her Majesty cannot inhibit her subjects to seek their helps by reprisals; neither can her Majesty leave to keep her ships armed, or to send them to the ports of Spain, as long as she shall certainly understand the continual preparations that the King maketh both out of Spain and Italy to have an army on the seas with manifest intents to come to the invasion of her subjects, whereof all the coasts of Spain do daily send out threatenings. And hereunto we add, as an evil sign of inclination to peace, in that we hear that divers of our rebels are lately gone out of France to the Duke of Parma, accompanied with the Bishop of Ross disguised, to practise with the Duke to offend this realm by the way of Scotland.

No signature. Endorsed.—Copy of my Lord's letter to And. de Looe when the Duke of Parma was besieging of Sluys, 28 July 1587.

BOROUGH'S STATEMENT IN ANSWER TO THE CHARGE OF HAVING PROCURED THE MUTINY AND DESERTION OF THE LION

[Lansdowne MSS. lii. No. 39.]

Objection.—Sir Francis Drake alleging against me, William Borough, that I am in fault and guilty for the Golden Lion's coming away from him at the sea without his consent, which fault he, his associates and followers think worthy to be punished by death, which they urge and prosecute as they may.

Answer.—My answer is that I am not guilty any manner of way for procuring the coming away

of that ship in such sort, but the ground and cause thereof was the company of the ship which did mutiny against the Captain and Master, whereof I had no knowledge or suspicion until it burst out on the 27 of May in the forenoon, at what time I was upon the deck with Captain Marchant; and then one of the quartermasters delivered to the said Captain a writing made in the name of the whole company wherein they declared what weakness and feebleness they were fallen into, through the spare and bad diet they had. It was further alleged by some of them that there was small store of victuals left in the ship and 46 men then sick; and [that] therefore with the fair wind that blew they would not alter the course, but [would] bear away to England. Whereunto the Captain answered that he would not go for England, but ply back to the General, and therefore charged them in her Majesty's name to bring the tacks aboard and tackle the sails as the Master commanded, which they refused. Whereupon both he and the Master used persuasions, all which would not prevail to alter their purpose determined. Whereupon the said Captain required to be set aboard her Majesty's pinnace the Spy that was near at hand. When he was in the boat by the ship's side I spake unto the company and told them that they had entered into a matter that might hazard their lives, and therefore wished them to be better advised, and prayed them to stay till they had spoken with the Admiral, and made him acquainted with their wants and griefs. They answered they would not stay to speak with him, for they had had many fair promises but found nothing performed, and if they should go back unto him he would shift them out of that ship and use them with tyranny, and therefore they would home, and would rather stand to the Queen's mercy for their lives or be

hanged at home amongst their friends than to stand to the Admiral's courtesy or perish at the seas for want of victuals.

Captain Marchant in fault

Their captain, Mr. Marchant, used no resistance by force and violence to withstand their purpose (which he ought to have done), and so did I the last year in the same ship when the company did mutiny for abridging their victuals in reasonable order for prolonging the voyage, whereby the service might be the better performed, and thereby I appeased them. If I had been in that place of authority, and not used resistance by violence to the uttermost of my power, then had my fault been great, and such punishment as is urged might (and I doubt should) have been laid upon me. But I was then as a prisoner in that ship, dismissed from all rule and authority by the Admiral, and the company charged upon pain of death so to accept of me and not otherwise, and the authority of government was wholly committed to the said Captain Marchant, who had remained so from the 2nd of May, [the day] that I was displaced, till then. All which time I stood ever in doubt of my life, and did expect daily when the Admiral would have executed upon me his bloodthirsty desire as he did upon Doughty.

Now seeing it was so, and that by the providence of God this mean was wrought to save me from that mischief, what reason had I to strive against them for coming away? If the ship had stayed by the Admiral I had assuredly been put to death; for Sir Francis hath often said since he came home that nothing so much repenteth him as that he did not cut me off whilst I remained by him. And what passed against me after the Lion's departure was partly declared by his own mouth out of his own

book, which he did read the 25 of July at Theobald's. He panelled a jury, and upon their verdict (by his law and himself the judge) pronounced sentence of death against me, the Master of the ship, the boatswain and other, and made full account that at his return home the same judgment should have been executed upon us, but if he had gotten us at sea he would have performed it there.

Sir Francis Drake, in urging this matter so vehemently against me, being able sufficiently to clear myself from being privy or abetting to the coming away of the Lion, doth altogether forget how he demeaned himself towards his Master and Admiral, Mr. John Hawkyns, at the port of San Juan de Ulua[1] in the West Indies, when contrary to his said Admiral's command he came away and left his said Master in great extremity, whereupon he was forced to set at shore in that country to seek their adventures 100 of his men ; which matter if it had been so followed against him (for that he could no ways excuse it) might justly have procured that to himself which now most unjustly, bloodily, and maliciously by all devices whatsoever he hath sought and still seeketh against me.[2]

[1] MS. St. John de Loo.

[2] It is very doubtful whether this charge against Drake was ever substantiated. Borough admits it was never 'followed against him.' It refers to his having made the best of his way home after the treacherous attack on Hawkyns's fleet in the port of Mexico nearly twenty years before. Whether right or wrong, he certainly had much excuse. His own ship was overcrowded, he was short of victuals, he had parted from Hawkyns in a gale, and, so far as is known, had been given no rendezvous nearer than Plymouth, the port for which they were bound.

FIRST SET OF ARTICLES AGAINST BOROUGH, AND HIS ANSWERS

[**Landsdowne MSS. lii. 41.**]

Anno 1587.

Articles objected with the answers to the same touching the voyage with the Lion of her Majesty.

1. Not a man in the gunner room that was of any skill or knowledge.

They were such as the Master Gunner provided and made choice of, and such as Sir Francis left in the ship.

2. The company of the ship, fishermen and simple fellows of small value and easily to be led.

They were the same that Sir Francis carried in that ship with him from Queenborough, and such other as he appointed to her at Plymouth, saving 10 sufficient men that I brought with me and added to them.

3. That Mr. Borough was so afraid of the shot, as he could not tell where to ride with the ship.

That I had no such fear of the shot it may appear by the places where the Lion rode in the bay of Cadiz, after our first anchoring the evening we came in. For at all times wheresoever the Admiral and fleet removed from the shot of the shore and galleys, the Lion anchored and remained between them and the shot, till at length when they had brought a piece of ordnance out of the town and placed it upon a cliff against the ship, with which they struck off the gunner's leg and hit the ship under water, whilst I was aboard of the Admiral. Whereupon the Master laid out a warp, to the northwards towards the entering of St. Mary Port, to have the ship from the shot of that piece, and where

she might ride at more liberty from the shoals; which warping that ways I allowed of, better than to have borne up higher amongst the thick of the fleet in so narrow and dangerous a place as they did ride; but that warping from the fleet was not for fear of blows, for we saw the galleys coming to impeach our passage that way, whereby we were sure to have more shot than if we had remained still; but that made us not to stay, for having the ship where she might ride in more safety from danger of grounding, which place we went unto in despite of those galleys, and drove them back to Cadiz, and rode there quietly; and by that means the rest of the fleet also rode the more quietly.

4. That if Sir Francis Drake would have been advised by Mr. Borough, there had been no service done, and they should have come home as they went forth.

Touching the attempt at Cadiz I was never against it, but was always desirous that we might have had conference, with such as knew the place, how and in what order it might best be done, and to that end I gathered advertisements and notes by a flyboat that I met in the Bay of Portugal the 16th of April, which came from Cadiz the 5th of the same month. Those notes I delivered as soon as I might to mine Admiral; whereupon he resolved, at the first sight of them, to go presently for that place, which I never disliked, but would gladly that there might have been conference had with such of the fleet as knew the place, how it might be done in best order; and to that effect I did likewise move the Admiral the same day we bare in unto the Bay of Cadiz a little before we had sight of the place, and would gladly have had him stay till the fleet had come up, that we might have conferred upon the same, and have borne into the Bay, so as we might

have anchored there at 8 of the clock in the evening; but he would not stay, but bare away straight, and I followed him next. But as touching landing at Cape Sagres, it is true that I did dissuade from it, by my letter, upon the reasons therein alleged for that it was contrary to the instructions and advice given, and might hinder the purpose we were appointed to attend for, which was to intercept the fleet that should come for Lisbon.

[5.] That the most of the company's sickness of the Lion came by fear which they had of the galleys rather than otherwise.

I never perceived any fear in the company of the Lion of the galleys, albeit it may be there were some such in corners, which I saw not. Truth it is, one night about midnight there were some that said they had spied 3 galleys near us; whereupon I was called out of my bed, but when I came up I could see none. Whether that speech did grow upon fear I know not, but the next night 2 other ships of the fleet, about like time of the night, did call out to the fleet near them and said they saw 3 galleys at hand, which afterwards could not be seen by any other of the fleet. Now whether they were galleys, or but the conceit of them that said they saw them, that knoweth God, and as touching the sickness that fell among the company, whether it came of fear or not let the world judge that knows or have heard how many have died, and what state the rest have been in since the ship came home.

6. That the company of the ship might have been persuaded to have stayed if Mr. Borough would had travailed in it.

After Captain Marchant and the Master had done what they could I did persuade the company to stay till they had talked with the Admiral, and made him acquainted with their wants and grief, and told

them that they had entered into a matter that might hazard their lives, and therefore prayed them to be better advised. They answered that they had many promises of Sir Francis, but saw nothing performed, and if they should stay to talk with him they doubted greatly he would misuse them with tyranny and shift them from ship to ship; and therefore they would not stay, but go home straight, and had rather put themselves to the Queen's mercy or to be hanged amongst their friends in England than to put themselves into Sir Francis's hands or to pine and perish at sea for want of victuals.

7. That they were of opinion that the mutiny of the mariners grew by the device of Mr. Borough, although he would not be seen in it, rather than otherwise.

That I was the worker of the mutiny, or privy unto any part of their doings therein before it burst out by the company generally, when I was upon the deck with Captain Marchant amongst them, it shall never be proved or found true. And this I say further, as no man can justly charge me with it or with having any intelligence or knowledge thereof till it burst out as aforesaid. So I protest before the Lord God, who knoweth the secrets of all hearts, and as I hope to be saved by the blood of Christ that I did neither know, think, or imagine of any such matter of their mutiny till it brake out.

(*Signed*) W. Borough.

FURTHER ARTICLES AGAINST BOROUGH

[**S.P. Dom. ccii. 66.**—Copy.]

The 29th of July, 1587.
Anno Regni Reginæ Elizabeth 29th.

For that the action lately attempted by Sir Francis Drake, Knight and his followers may the

better have the truth thereof known, and so much the rather considering that there was a departing away of one of her Majesty's ships with her company, who at their coming home have given out many untruths touching the same, we therefore whose names are hereunder subscribed have thought it requisite to testify under our hands so much as we will affirm by oath whensoever we shall be thereunto required, as followeth :

1.

First when it pleased our General to call together the captains of her Majesty's ships and the captains of the ships of London, asking every man's advice for our entering Cadiz, the wind being good and divers fish boats in sight, Mr. Borough's advice and counsel was not to go into Cadiz that night, which if we had not the service had been lost.

Francis Drake, Anthony Platt, John Marchant, William Poole, Humfrey Sydenham, John Rivers, Isaac Marichurch, John Harris.[1]

2.

Captain Foxcrofte affirmeth that at the first night of their coming into the Road of Cadiz, he being upon occasion aboard the Margaret and John, went with the captain and master of the same ship aboard the General to understand the watchword, and coming aboard the said master met with Mr. Borough coming out from the General and asked of him what the General would do that night and

[1] Sydenham was probably a relation of Lady Drake's. Marichurch has 'ob' written over his name, as being dead. He was master of Drake's ship. In the margin opposite the witnesses' names is written 'of the Queen's ships, Fenner, Bellingham, Clifford, captains,' having reference probably to Borough's objection that this article was not attested by any of the captains of the Queen's ships. (See his answers, *post*, p. 169.) The surnames throughout this document are spelt without any uniformity.

what our watchword should be; to whom Mr. Borough replied that he had been with the General and could persuade him to no reason, and that he would have had the General to be gone, for there was no staying there. Whereupon the master answered him that he thought the best were to dispatch that they would do out of hand; upon which speeches Mr. Borough said he was glad he was of that opinion and requested the master that he would persuade the General, but what answer he had of him he heard not fully, yet only this: he heard the General say that they should go aboard and ride quietly that night, and if they saw the General stir to be ready also. Samuel Foxcrofte.

3.

The very same night Mr. Borough said also to Mr. Captain Crosse, 'Would we were going away,' when as they had done no service at all.

Robert Crosse.

4.

Lieutenant Copland and Williams, being of his own company, affirm that the next morning after they came into Cadiz Bay, Mr. Borough, being aboard his own ship, said (to the master of the Lion)[1] that he would go and persuade the General to go out, and if he would not, then he would persuade the captain of the Rainbow to go out and ride with him abroad. And before his return again the master and company had warped out the ship and rode two leagues off from the General and the whole fleet, before any service was done.

Thomas Copland, John Williams.

5.

The same morning Mr. Borough came to the General in trembling sort, uttering most fearfully

[1] The bracketed words interlined in Burghley's hand.

these words, how that the ship whereof he was captain was hit, and also said, what if one of the Queen's ships' masts should be hit, what danger were we in.

Francis Drake, William Poole,
John Marchant, Humfrey Sydenham.

6.

The same morning he came aboard of Captain Flick in the Merchant Royal, and demanded of him what he meant to go up so high, and persuaded him to come out, for he thought it better to be gone than to stay there, which was spoken in very fearful sort; who, seeing the two galleys to come towards us, presently departed from us.

Robert Flick,
James Steele.[1]

7.

He warping away the ship he was captain of, so soon as the General was gone away with his pinnace to take order what ships should be burnt and what should be brought away with victuals, [and] the galleys thereby finding opportunity to assault him, the General was forced to command divers ships to assist him, and withal sent his boat and pinnace manned. Yet nevertheless Mr. Borough ceased not running out so far, as he could not any ways assist us, to the great danger of the whole fleet.

Francis Drake,
and 28: Anthony Platt, John Marchant, Robt. Crosse, William Poole, John Harris, Humfrey Sydenham, Samuel Thomas, John Rivers, Richard Fishborne, Henry Spindelow, John Bacon, John Paris, John Tippet, Isaac Marichurch, John Marshall, James Steele,

[1] Flick's chaplain. See Borough's answer, *post*, p. 176.

Tho. Copland, John Williams, Thomas Luddington, John Nicholls, Christopher Newporte, Samuel Foxcrofte, George Martin, Jeffrey Carwell, Samuel Sutton, Henry Browne, John Phillips, John Wilson.

8.

He being out persuaded Captain Bellingham to stay with him, for that he was appointed his Vice-Admiral.[1]

9.

He put Mr. Parker in such doubt of the forces upon the coast, as there passed many great words betwixt the captains and Mr. Parker when as they came aboard the Elizabeth.[2]

Anthony Platt,
John Harris,
John Marchant.

10.

He likewise commanded the captain of the George Bonaventure to stay with him, and that he should have wine of him (he having not any for himself); and he also said that he would send to the General to come out, for he would go in no more.

John Bacon.

11.

He also said that he did know how the General stayed there but at the persuasion of some

[1] Against this article in the margin is written, 'Denied by Bellingham, Fenner, and Platt, captains.' The last clause is obscure and seems to imply that the fleet was organised in two or more squadrons, Bellingham being Vice-Admiral of Borough's squadron. Nothing of this is known, however, and the meaning may be merely that Borough used his authority as Vice-Admiral of the fleet. But see *post*, p. 188.

[2] See article 13.

merchants upon a covetous desire. 'And therefore I will,' quoth he, 'send for him, for I am sure he will come,' which was in effect before any service was done.

Humfrey Sydenham,
John Tippet.[1]

12.

Captain Sydenham and Lieutenant Copland affirm how they persuaded Mr. Borough to go in again to the General, who answered wind and tide did serve them to go in, but he knew not how to come out again. Then said Mr. Sydenham, 'Do you think that the General will come away and leave the least pinnace behind him?' Whereunto Mr. Borough answered, 'I do not know, but I will not go in!' Whereupon the said Mr. Sydenham moved Mr. Parker to persuade him to go in, but yet Mr. Borough would not.

Humfrey Sydenham,
Thomas Copland.

13.

Captain Parker being somewhat doubtful (through the persuasion of Mr. Borough) demanded of Captain Fishborne of what forces those galleys were, who willed him to be of good comfort, saying that he had a ship that in a voyage before had fought with six of them.[2] Whereupon Mr.

[1] See *post*, p. 197.

[2] Unless this was some unrecorded action, he probably refers to the 'worthy fight performed in the voyage from Turkey by five ships of London against eleven galleys and two frigates of the King of Spain's at Pantalarea within the Straits, anno 1586,' as reported in Hakluyt. During this action he may have been engaged for a time with six galleys. Of the present fleet three vessels, the Merchant Royal, the Edward Bonaventure, and the Susan, took part in the engagement.

Parker replied and said that Mr. Borough had imparted unto him how they were of great force, and therefore it were better for them to depart than to remain there considering how they could not get out.

Richard Fishborne.

14.

Captain Spindelow being aboard the Rainbow in the Bay of Cadiz the same day that Mr. Borough warped out with the Lion from the fleet, Captain Bellingham having been aboard the Lion at supper with Mr. Borough, at his return to the Rainbow gave commandment to the master, named John Hampton, that if Mr. Borough did make proffer to weigh, that he should do the like, and also fall farther out. Then said Captain Spindelo, hearing these speeches, and weighing with himself, that they were already farther out than they ought to have been, prayed Captain Raymond and the master, John Hampton, to go unto Mr. Borough and to know what his intent was to do, for that he doubted what might follow if they weighed out, being already gone so far from the General. 'For it were better,' said he, 'with our credits to return back again to our General than to go farther from him.' Captain Raymond telling Mr. Borough thereof, he answered the said Mr. Raymond and the master, John Hampton, as Mr. Raymond credibly told unto Mr. Spindelow, in this sort, how it was Mr. Bellingham's desire to go farther out.

Henry Spindelow,[1]
William Harper.

[1] Henry Spindelow had served as a gunner in Drake's voyage of circumnavigation, but it is uncertain whether he completed the voyage in the Golden Hind or returned with Wynter.

15.

The White Lion being commanded by our General to ride as near to Puntales[1] as might be, Mr. Borough came the next morning in his pinnace to know what we meant to ride there, and told us how it were best for us to weigh anchor and to depart out the harbour. Whereunto we answered that we were commanded to stay there by our General, and therefore would not stir. The like speeches he used to the Solomon, who upon his persuasions weighed anchor and departed with him.

John Marshall.

16.

In all our assemblies of council or matters of any service Mr. Borough's persuasion was for the most part to the contrary, or at the least to detract time ; and when it came to any service in deed then it was by him least performed.

Francis Drake, Anthony Platt, John Marchant, William Poole, John Harris, Humfrey Sydenham, Samuel Thomas, Richard Fishborne, Henry Spindelow, John Marshall, John Tippet, [Thos. Copland,] John Bacon, John Phillips, John Paris, George Martin, Robt. Flick, Samuel Sutton, William Harper, Samuel Foxcrofte, Henry Browne.

17

Notwithstanding all these causes and evil examples used and prosecuted by Mr. Borough we never knew that any word or evil countenance passed from our General to Mr. Borough before that Mr. Borough had sent him a letter, in the which letter to our knowledge he doth touch him with many untruths.

[1] The entrance to the inner harbour. MS. 'Pointall.'

Anthony Platt, John Marchant, William Poole, John Harris, Humfrey Sydenham, Samuel Thomas, Richard Fishborne, Henry Spindelow, John Marshall, John Tippet, Thomas Copland, John Bacon, John Phillips, John Paris, George Martin, Samuel Sutton, Wm. Harper, Henry Browne, Christopher Newport, Samuel Foxcrofte.

18.

And whereas it was reported of many that Mr. Borough departing from us at this service of Cadiz was a good piece of service, we do all say it was most undutiful and a very bad part. And (being spoken under correction) we have always held the like offence amongst us to be worthy of a very extreme punishment. And that if any of us had had the like authority as our General had, he should assuredly have died for the same.

Anthony Platt, John Marchant, Wm. Poole, John Harris, Humfrey Sydenham, Samuel Thomas, Richard Fishborne, Henry Spindelow, John Marshall, Robert Flick, Thomas Copland, John Bacon, John Phillips, George Martin, Samuel Foxcrofte, Samuel Sutton, William Harper, Henry Browne.

DEPOSITIONS OF THE LION'S CREW

[**S.P. Dom. ccii. 67.**—Draft. Unsigned.][1]

A note of certain examinations taken before the Judge of the Admiralty, her Majesty's Attorney General, her Solicitor, and Mr. Doctor Hamon,

[1] Endorsed 'To the third party' and in Burghley's hand 'against Wm. Borough.'

commissioners in that behalf appointed concerning the coming away of the Golden Lion.

William Hanson, quarter-gunner of the same ship, being asked whether Mr. Borough, after the departure of Captain Marchant from them, did take charge as captain again or no, and by whose procurement he so did—Sayeth: that he did it by the procurement and consent of the whole party, with whose doings they never disliked, neither refused at any time to obey him, and thinketh in his conscience that if Mr. Borough had but willed them to have returned to the General they would have done the same.

John Terrey, of Bristol,[1] one of the quartermasters, being asked why they did not return back to the General at Captain Marchant's commandment, —Sayeth: he can give no reason, but saith there was a great dump[2] and mutiny amongst the company for displacing of Mr. Borough; and verily believeth that if Mr. Borough had commanded them to have returned back to the General they would have gone.

Nicholas Blackecoller, alias Crowe, being asked what the cause was, when the master willed him to put the helm a-lee, that he did not the same,—Sayeth: he could not do it for that (as he sayeth) there was such a press of his company that he could not stir the same; and confesseth that he said in jest, and not otherwise, that he would be master and captain too, at which the master, turning away, laughed, but did neither appoint him to leave the helm nor commanded any other to take the charge

[1] MS. 'Bristowe.' The oldest known form of the name is Briegstow.

[2] MS. 'dumpe'—*i.e.* a depressed or sulky frame of mind; used by Shakspeare of a melancholy tune.

thereof, for if he had done it he should have been obeyed.

Being asked what the cause was that he and his company did not go back to the General at the commandment of the new captain, Captain Marchant, he can show none; but sayeth that the old captain, Borough, and the master were as willing as this examinate or any of the company to return home, and saith that at such time as Captain Marchant called for the long boat to set him aboard the pinnace the master (which before a long time had not set his hand to any thing) stepped into the chain-walls [1] to deliver a rope unto the company to help to haul up the boat, whereby this examinate deemed that he was glad of his departure; 'but now' (as he sayeth) 'we poor sailors must bear the blame of it'; and farther addeth, that if Mr. Borough or the master had willed them to have returned back to the General they would very willingly have done it.

Being asked, after Captain Marchant's departure, who took charge as captain,—Sayeth that Mr. Borough did; and that the master also presently, after his departure (which was about 40 leagues off the Rock) in like sort directed his course homewards.

Abdye Coppye, of Ramsgate, being asked if Captain Borough had required them to have gone back to the General, as Captain Marchant did, whether they would not have so done?—Sayeth that for his own part he would have consented thereunto, and verily believeth that his whole company would have done the like.

Thomas Davies, quarter-master, being demanded whether Captain Marchant did not promise to supply

[1] *I.e.* the 'channels.' His purpose was to haul the boat alongside, which, as was the custom, was being towed behind the ship.

that want of victual if they would return back to the General,—Sayeth that Captain Marchant promised to supply the same, and if they would return back to the General, which they refused to do: and saith that he verily believeth that if Mr. Borough and the master had required them so to do they would have done it.

Farther, he saith that the most part of the company did murmur at the displacing of Captain Borough, as namely Bellenger and Alexander, Trumpeters did. And all Mr. Borough's own men were the first that had talk of the same, at the least three or four days before their mutiny.

William Reade saith that if Mr. Borough had willed them to have stayed longer or returned back to the General, which he did not, he for his part would have done it, and thinketh that his company would have done the like.

John Drewet saith that he verily thinketh that if the master and Mr. Borough had required them in her Majesty's name to have stayed and gone back to the General, they had done it. But sayeth they were both as willing to return home as any of the company.

William Bigate, master of the said ship, being examined whether he did think it was for her Majesty's service, and not a fault to come home with the said ship,—Sayeth he thinketh it was not for her Majesty's service, and a fault in him that he did not charge his company in her Majesty's name to return back to the General.

BOROUGH'S AFFIDAVIT IN REPLY

[**S.P. Dom. cciii. 1.**—Signed.]

The Answers made by William Borough, Clerk and Comptroller of her Majesty's ships, late Vice-Admiral of the Seas with Sir Francis Drake, Knight, to the articles objected against him by the said Sir Francis and his followers.[1]

The 29th July, 1587.
An° R. R. Eliz. 29.

For that the action lately attempted by Sir Fra. Drake, Knight, and his followers may the better have the truth thereof known, and so much the rather considering that there was a departing away of one of her Majesty's ships with her company, who at their coming home have given out many untruths touching the same, we therefore whose names are hereunder written have thought it requisite to testify under our hands so much as we will affirm by oath whensoever we shall be thereunto required. As followeth:

1.

First, when it pleased our General to call together the captains of her Majesty's ships and the captains of the ships of London, asking every man's advice for our entering Cadiz,[2] the wind being good and divers fisher boats in sight, Mr. Borough's advice and counsel was, not to go into Cadiz that

[1] In this document Borough recites the Acts of Courts and Articles framed by Drake, and read before the Royal Commission of Inquiry, 25 July, 1587, and answers each categorically.

[2] MS. Caels. This spelling of 'Cadiz,' which Borough adopts throughout, is unusual.

night, which if we had not the service had been lost.

Fra. Drake and 7 witnesses.
Anthony Platt, John Marchant,
Philip Nicholls.[1]

[*Answer.*] To the first article, which consisteth in three points, viz. : calling together the captains of her Majesty's ships, &c., and asking every man's advice for entering Cadiz, being near the place with the wind good. Secondly, that mine advice and counsel was, not to go into Cadiz that night. Thirdly, if we had not gone in that night the service had been lost. This article is confirmed by Sir Francis Drake and 7 witnesses, whereof one was Isaac Marichurch, the master of his ship, the rest
2 ☞ his followers, but not one of the captains of the Queen's ships, which ought to be heard in that matter (and therefore I do humbly beseech your Honours that they may be examined and willed to declare the truth touching this article before your Honours). Because the said master is a man of experience and judgment, whom I hold to be an honest man that feareth God, and such a one as will not altogether be led to swerve from the truth and swear it to serve and please affection, I therefore desired your Honours the Commissioners,[3] Sir Amyas Paulet, and Mr. Secretary Wolley, that the said Marichurch might be brought to speak before your Honours where I might be present, for

[1] These three names are added in another hand.

[2] These indications in the margin are added by Borough's own hand.

[3] The committee appointed by the Council to inquire into Drake's charges against Borough. Sir Amyas Paulet was one of the Queen's most trusted servants. A rigid puritan, and a man of incorruptible character, he had been chosen to guard Mary Stuart in 1585. He had sat as a commissioner on her trial, and had recently returned from a mission to the States.

that I doubted not to put him in mind that he had overshot himself; whereupon it pleased your Honours to send for him. When he came before your Honours, the article being read, and his hand showed, he confessed both. Then he was demanded of the first part, whether the captains of the Queen's ships, &c., were called aboard by the General and their advice asked for entering Cadiz. ☞ He answered he knew no such matter. It was further demanded of him, touching the second point, whether he heard me counsel or advise the General that we should not bear into the Bay of Cadiz that ☞ night. He answered he would not say it for a thousand pounds. 'But,' quoth he, 'I have set my hand only to prove that if we had not gone in that night the service had been lost.' By this your Honours may judge how easy a thing it is to induce and bring simple men, and such as have not the fear of God before their eyes, in hope of gain and reward, to set their hands to anything, seeing this man hath been brought to subscribe in such sort. Now, as touching the going into Cadiz, when the Admiral asked my opinion thereof that afternoon, being aboard his ship, I answered that I thought it convenient to stay for the coming up of the fleet, whereof some were as far astern as we could see their hulls, and that in the meantime there might be a consultation holden for going in, and in what order to deal, at our coming thither; but for our going in I thought it best to order it so, as we might anchor there about 8 of the clock at the shutting of the evening. He answered me that I was just of opinion with him; 'but,' quoth he, 'some would have us to stay till morning.' I answered, such reasons might be showed for the same, as I might be led to like of it also, yet doubting if the wind should faint or fail us, I thought it more sure to

bear in the evening as aforesaid. He would not be persuaded to stay anything at all, but bare away for the place presently without consultation or order given to the fleet, in such confused order as was never heard of in such an action, albeit things happened reasonable well ; but if a man of government and judgment such as had been fit for the action, that would have heard men's opinions and dealt advisedly and with order, had had the direction and handling of it, we might as well have had the spoil of the galleys and town of Cadiz with the rest of the shipping we left behind us in that Bay, as those shipping that we had thence and spoiled in that place.

2.

Captain Foxcrofte affirmeth that at the first night of their coming into the road of Cadiz, he being upon occasion aboard the Margaret and John, went with the captain and master of the same ship aboard the General to understand the watchword, and coming aboard the said master met with Mr. Borough coming out from the General, and asked of him what the General would do that night, and what our watchword should be. To whom Mr. Borough replied that he had been with the General and could persuade him to no reason, and that he would have had the General to be gone, for there was no staying there. Whereupon he answered him that he thought the best were to despatch that they would do out of hand. Upon which speeches Mr. Borough said he was glad he was of that opinion, and requested the master that he would persuade the General. But what answer they had of him he heard not fully, yet only thus : he heard the General say that they should go aboard and ride quietly that night, and if they saw the General stir, to be ready also. 1 witness.

[*Answer.*] Touching the second article, I do remember that the same night, after I had been aboard of mine Admiral, I met with the captain and master of the Margaret and John, and that some words passed between them and me touching dispatch of those things that we went to do in that bay, but what the words were, I refer me to the report of the said master, who I doubt not will speak the truth, and thereby reprove this article.

3.

The very same night Mr. Borough said also to Mr. Captain Crosse 'Would we were going away,' when as they had done no service at all.

1 witness.

[*Answer.*] I do not remember that I spake with Captain Crosse that night, but am assured I never uttered those words to him.

4.

Lieutenant Copland and Williams, being of his own company, affirm that the next morning after they came into Cadiz Bay, Mr. Borough, being aboard his own ship, said that he would go and persuade the General to go out, and if he would not, then he would persuade the captain of the Rainbow to go out and ride with him abroad, and before his return again the master and company had warped out the ship, and rode two leagues off from the General and the whole fleet before any service was done.

2 witnesses.

[*Answer.*] The parties that subscribed this article I nourished as in my bosom, and fed them at my own table all the voyage. They served with Sir Francis in his last voyage to the West Indies; they know him and his dealings well, and what they have said of him unto me I know. I supposed they would

not have said anything against me more than truth, and therefore desired your Honours the Commissioners that they might be brought to speak before your Honours, in my hearing, for that I doubted not to put them in mind they had overshot themselves; but they came not. Notwithstanding, I see by that I find in Robert Flick, who avoucheth the 6th article, what these men may do, upon the hope of liberal reward, which haply they should miss, if they avouched not something against me. For so he[1] dealeth with the rest of the Lion's company; to some he giveth money, to others none. And therefore I doubt not now but they will say as other his followers do.

5.

The same morning Mr. Borough came to the General in trembling sort, uttering most fearfully these words: How that the ship whereof he was captain was hit, and also said what if one of the Queen's ships' masts should be hit, what danger were we in.

Francis Drake and 3 witnesses.

[*Answer.*] Sir Francis Drake, in his book of Acts of Court, and Articles framed against me, which was read by him the 25th of July, the first day of our hearing before your Honours, doth charge me to come in such fearful sort aboard his ship, and deliver such words unto him privately in his cabin, where he was alone, and said then before your Honours that none heard or saw the same but himself, yet now there are three witnesses produced to confirm it. But, as I then laid it open before your Honours, that it was most untrue, and proved it by that it was impossible to be true; so I say again, that the same morning, when I went to the Bona-

[1] *I.e.* Drake.

venture to have spoken with him, as I came to the ship's side, I understood that he was gone up to Puntales, amongst the ships there, whereupon I went up thither with my pinnace (and was then aboard the Merchant Royal), where I understood the General was returned back to our fleet. I made small stay, and returned to the Bonaventure, where I found him. Unto whom I imparted that I was come to understand what order he would take for distributing of the victuals, and that I meant to send my boat aboard one of the ships for some wine for the Lion. He said no, I should not send till I had order from him, for there should be nothing delivered but by warrant under his hand. He then said I should have 20 tapnetts of raisins from a ship that rode hard by. I offered to fetch them myself in my pinnace as I went to the Lion, who liked not it should be so, but sent Captain Marchant to see the delivery of them. This was the substance of matter that passed between us at that time. And so I took in those raisins, and went aboard the Lion, where I then first understood that the ship was hit under water, and that the gunner's leg was struck off. At what time the master had laid out an anchor to warp the ship further from that shot (and a shoal she rode by), towards the entering of St. Mary Port, which working I liked, and so they proceeded therein. Then were the galleys coming from Cadiz, which brought themselves between the entering of St. Mary Port and us, to impeach our passage that way. There came then a small gale of wind westerly, whereupon we set sail and plied towards those galleys. There were six other ships of the fleet, by the Admiral's appointment, that plied after us, and the Admiral sent his boatman aboard me. We drove those galleys back to Cadiz, and anchored at our pleasure against the point of St. Mary Port.

☞ It cannot nor shall never be proved by any that I was aboard of the Admiral that day but only that once as aforesaid; and that I can prove by a hundred witnesses and more, as also that I understood not (nor none else of the fleet besides those then in the Lion) of the ship being hit under water, nor that the gunner's leg was strucken, till my return aboard of the Lion, as the whole company of the Lion can and will justify the same. Now, seeing I knew not of the matter when I was aboard the Admiral, how could I utter those speeches and be thereupon driven into such a fear as Sir Francis reporteth, and they now his followers do witness? It may seem his memory failed him much, but rather that God would not have the wickedness of his heart conceived against me through malice should be hidden, but be revealed and laid open unto the world, as was that in the hearts of those wicked judges that accused Susanna.

6.

The same morning he came aboard of Captain Flick, in the Merchant Royal, and demanded of him what he meant to go up so high, and persuaded him to come out, for he thought it better to be gone than to stay there, which was spoken in very fearful sort, who seeing the two galleys to come towards us presently departed from us. 2 witnesses.

[*Answer.*] I requested your Honours the Commissioners that Robert Flick might be called before you, for that I supposed he would have avouched before your Honours in my presence but the truth, wherein I was much deceived; for he maintained the whole article, which is most untrue. It is so that I was aboard the Merchant Royal that morning, where he did offer me a banquet and I did sit at it and eat and drink with

him, whereat was the master of the ship and his lieutenant (besides his preacher that subscribed the article with him, who is a man well known in and about London to be greatly detected for his life and conversation). Those men can and will I doubt not witness the truth what passed then between us, and how by my order only they brought up the ship to that place, and that I demanded no such question what they meant to go up so high (for it is without sense, seeing I appointed them to do it), nor persuaded them to come out, or to be gone, neither used any speeches there in fearful sort; nor that there were any galleys seen or perceived coming towards that ship whilst I was aboard her, as in the article is alleged. In truth if I had well considered of the disposition and usage of the said Flick the 25 July when the cause between Sir Francis Drake and me was first heard at Waltham before your Honours how he thrust himself in, and offered to speak, and did there avouch before your Honours that the Admiral gave instructions to the fleet before his departure from Plymouth, which is most untrue, ☞ and was there manifestly reproved; [and how] he also avouched that the going up of the Merchant Royal to Puntales was of himself, and not by my order, which likewise was there before your Honours manifestly ☞ reproved; I might thereby have judged what he would have done in this. I see in the man forwardness to speak anything, and therefore how much the rather in matters that may concern his profit (or his upholding or undoing), as such is now his case in pleasing or displeasing Sir Francis Drake.

7.

He warping away the ship he was captain of so soon as the General was gone away with his pinnace to take order what ships should be burnt

and what should be brought away with victuals, [and] the galleys thereby finding opportunity to assault him, the General was forced to command divers ships to assist him, and withal sent his boat and pinnace manned, yet nevertheless Mr. Borough ceased not running out so far, as he could not any ways assist us to the great danger of the whole fleet.

Fra. Drake and 28 witnesses.

[*Answer.*] The reason and manner of warping and plying with the ship from the place where she rode towards the point of St. Mary Port is declared in my answer to the 5th article. But whereas it is said that the General sent certain ships and his boat manned to assist me, and yet nevertheless I ceased not running out so far, as I could not anyways assist them, to the great danger of the whole fleet, I answer: We went no further than against the point of Sta. Katarina at the entering of St. Mary Port, for we anchored as it were in a direct line between the chapel on the said point and the great fort in Cadiz, where the shot of the said fort did reach us, and we from our ships shot at shore to the said point and chapel of Sta. Katarina amongst the people that were there. This place, where we anchored, was from our Admiral and the rest of the fleet remaining with him about two English miles, but not above, as Captain Bellingham, Captain Parker, and all the masters of those six ships that rode then by us can and will, I doubt not, witness if they be demanded the same; and thereby your Honours shall find how ☞ far Sir Francis Drake swerved from the truth in that he reported, stood in, and would not be removed[1] before your Honours when we were last heard at Council table at Theobald's,[2] where he affirmed that

[1] *I.e.* stood out and was not to be moved from his assertion.
[2] MS. 'Tiballs.'

I came out from him and anchored against the point of Rota, which place is accounted from that point of Sta. Katarina three leagues, that is nine English miles. Now as touching our driving back the galleys and anchoring at that place, what service was done thereby both to our credits and the more security of the rest of the fleet I refer me to the report of the said Captain Bellingham, Captain Parker, and those masters, as also to the report of the Spaniards, and such as were then in Cadiz, and thereabouts that saw it. No force could have come in to them out of the sea, but we were in the way, to have met it first. Those galleys durst not assault them, nor put in practice such matter for firing our fleet as they might, had we not ridden there, doubting we would have been on their Jacks.[1] They were 19 ships and barks together, and we but 7. The spite the enemy had was ever chiefly against the Lion, which they attempted to show as much as they could or durst, and therefore there is small reason to allege of danger they [the rest of Drake's vessels] remained in, touching the enemy, or that we were so far from them as we could not relieve or help them ; for howsoever it had happened, we might either have gone to them, or they have come to us.

8.

He being out, persuaded Captain Bellingham to stay with him, for that he was appointed his Vice-Admiral.

[*Answer.*] Captain Bellingham can report the truth.

9.

He put Mr. Parker in such doubt of the forces upon the coasts as there passed many great words

[1] Qy. 'backs.'

betwixt the captains and Mr. Parker when as they came aboard the Elizabeth. 3 witnesses.

[*Answer.*] I refer me to Mr. Parker's report.

10.

He likewise commanded the captain of the George Bonaventure to stay with him, and that he should have wine of him (he having not any for himself), and he also said that he would send to the General to come out, for he would go in no more. 1 witness.

[*Answer.*] I commanded not the captain of the George to tarry by me, but told him in my opinion it were better to tarry than to bear up to the General, being then towards evening; the rest of the article, though not with those words, yet in substance I did speak unto him.

11.

He also said that he did know how the General stayed there but upon the persuasion of some merchants upon a covetous desire. 'And therefore I will,' quoth he, 'send for him, for I am sure he will come,' which was in effect before any service was done. 2 witnesses.

[*Answer.*] In that it is said I would send for the Admiral, never any such words passed my lips, neither do I remember that ever I had any conference with them.

12.

Captain Sydenham and Lieutenant Copland affirm how they persuaded Mr. Borough to go in again to the General, who answered that wind and tide did serve him to go in, but he knew not how to come out again. Then said Mr. Sydenham, 'Do you

think that the General will come away and leave the least pinnace behind him?' Whereunto Mr. Borough answered, 'I do not know, but I will not go in.' Whereupon the said Mr. Sydenham moved Mr. Parker to persuade him to go in, but yet Mr. Borough would not. 2 witnesses.

[*Answer.*] If I had passed such speeches to them, it is not greatly material, but I refer me to Mr. Parker's report.

13.

Captain Parker being somewhat doubtful (through the persuasion of Mr. Borough) demanded of Captain Fishborne of what forces those galleys were, who willed him to be of good comfort, saying he had a ship that in a voyage before had fought with six of them; whereunto Mr. Parker replied and said that Mr. Borough had imparted unto him how they were of great force, and therefore it were better for them to depart than to remain there, considering how they could not get out. 1 witness.

[*Answer.*] Mr. Parker being demanded will, I doubt not, declare the truth what passed between him and me, unto whom it appertaineth to answer the rest of the article.

14.

Captain Spindelow being aboard the Rainbow in the Bay of Cadiz, the same day that Mr. Borough warped out with the Lion from the fleet, Captain Bellingham having been aboard the Lion at supper with Mr. Borough at his return to the Rainbow gave commandment to the master named John Hampton that if Mr. Borough did make proffer to weigh that he should do the like, and also fall further out;

the said Captain Spindelow hearing these speeches, and weighing with himself that they were already further out than they ought to have been, prayed Captain Raymond and the master John Hampton to go unto Mr. Borough, and to know what his intent was to do, for that he doubted what might follow if they weighed out, being already gone so far from the General. 'For it were better,' said he, 'with our credits to return back again to our General, than to go further from him.' Captain Raymond telling Mr. Borough hereof, he answered the said Mr. Raymond and the master John Hampton, as Mr. Raymond credibly told unto Mr. Spindelow, in this sort, how it was Mr. Bellingham's design to go further out.

2 witnesses.

[*Answer.*] Touching the words that passed aboard the Rainbow, Mr. Bellingham is to answer them; but touching removing further off, I never meant it, neither yet Mr. Bellingham to my knowledge.

15.

The White Lion being commanded by our General to ride as near to Puntales as might be, Mr. Borough came the next morning in his pinnace to know what we meant to ride there, and told us how it was best for us to weigh anchor and to depart out the harbour, whereunto we answered that we were commanded to stay there by our General, and therefore would not stir; the like speeches he used to the Solomon, who upon his persuasions weighed anchor and departed with him. 1 witness.

[*Answer.*] I do not remember that I was aboard the White Lion that day; the man that reporteth it I know not, neither did I use any such speech.

16.

In all our assemblies of council or matters of any service, Mr. Borough's persuasion was for the most part to the contrary, or at the least to detract time, and when it came to any service in deed then it was by him least performed.

Fra. Drake and 20 witnesses.

[*Answer.*] Whereas it is said in general terms, that in all assemblies of council and matters of service, my persuasions for the most part was contrary, or to detract time, and performed least when any service was; I would have them to charge me with the particulars, or at the least with some of them; but they shall never be able to prove, that I was ever behind when any service was to be done, but was as forward, or did more than any man else, except they account that service for hoisting[1] out and conveying and carrying away the spoil found in those ships and vessels that we possessed in that bay, for which I was expressly forbidden by the Admiral to send or to fetch any, without special warrant under his hand, as in my answer to the 5th article.

17.

Notwithstanding all these causes and evil examples used and prosecuted by Mr. Borough, we never knew that any word or evil countenance passed from our General to Mr. Borough, before that Mr. Borough had sent him a letter, in the which letter to our knowledge he doth touch him with many untruths. 20 witnesses.

[*Answer.*] That they never knew evil word or countenance, that passed between the General and

[1] MS. 'hoysing.'

me, till I wrote him my letter; in truth I never gave cause. And as touching the untruths they say I charge him with in my said letter, let them recite the same or any one, if they can; but they cannot name any, for all that I set down therein is most true.

18.

And whereas it was reported of many that Mr. Borough's departing from us at this service of Cadiz was a good piece of service: we do all say it was most undutiful and a bad part. And be it spoken under correction, we have always held the like offence amongst us to be worthy of a very extreme punishment; and that if any of us had had the like authority as our General had, he should assuredly have died for the same. 18 witnesses.

[*Answer.*] Touching the service done by removing the ship in the Bay of Cadiz, I have answered in the 7th article. And though it please him to set it down that it was most undutiful and a very bad part: I assure myself of this, that if the driving back of those galleys and anchoring in such sort as I did there had been his doing, it should have been extolled and preferred (as it deserved) before any service he did in the voyage, but being my doing, it may not be allowed to be called a good service, but must be defaced, and I disgraced by him and his followers for doing thereof. And as for their opinions what they would have done if they had had authority, I doubt nothing but some of them would have done as they set down, for I think they were the chief procurers to further the Admiral's purpose to take away my life, as partly may appear by the working of Captain Platt and Captain Spindelow with the prisoners in the Marshalsea; for they with threaten-

ings and persuasions brought those simple men to subscribe to a certain bill of articles framed by the said Platt and Spindelow against me, much against their consciences, as they have since confessed, for they know no such matter; which bill with their hands to it was presented and read last of all the first day of our hearing before your Honours. When they had gotten that bill subscribed, those captains said that their General by the same would cause my neck to crack, as hath been confessed in writing voluntarily by one of those prisoners named John Drewett, a soldier (and will be avouched by divers of them). The same writing I have showed to your Honours the Commissioners, and by your Honours' order delivered it with other likes notes to Sir Francis Drake to peruse, which he yet detaineth. By those dealings and speeches of the said Platt and Spindelow your Honours may see what mind they carry and how injuriously I am dealt with. They imprison, examine, threaten, and persuade at their pleasures; I may not seek any revenge, nor dare not as yet use the benefit[1] . . . and do . . . in speeches and otherwise as aforesaid. They seek my life as did those two wicked men which by the practice of Jezebel did witness against Naboth, whereupon he was stoned to death. I may say with David, 'Mine enemies revile me all the day long, and they that are mad upon me are sworn together against me.' But God is ever righteous, who will judge and revenge.

I hope that your Honours' finding the truth of causes bruited out against me to my discredit, slander, and defamation to have proceeded only of and through the malice conceived in the heart of Sir Francis Drake, and not of any just cause or desert of my part, will make the same so known to the Queen's Majesty that I may receive her Highness's

[1] MS. torn. Two lines illegible.

favour, such as is due to so faithful and true a servant as I am to her Majesty. And so shall I pray for the prosperous estate of your Honours in health long to endure. W. Borough.

Pay of the Regular Forces engaged in the Expedition.

JOHN HAWKYNS TO THE COUNCIL[1]

[**S.P. Dom. ccv. 55.**—Copy. Unsigned.]

Right Honourable my very good Lords,

I have at sundry times heretofore signified unto your Lordships my word and promise concerning the pay of such as were with me in the late service performed by her Majesty's commandment on the coast of Spain and Portugal, &c.

That which they demand is to be made equal with such as served in the merchants' ships; the computation whereof being made, the pay of 770 men in her Majesty's three ships and two pinnaces, with 350*l.* by me disbursed unto certain of the Golden Lion's men which came home before, amounteth in all to the sum of 8,760*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* for their full satisfaction, of the which I have taken up of sundry of my friends which I remain indebted for, and paid unto the aforesaid persons the sum of 7,500*l.*, and must see the rest accomplished as soon as money may be provided for the same.

Beseeching your Lordships with favour to consider thereof, not permitting (being in her Majesty's service) I bear the burden thereof myself, but that the said 8,760*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* with 30*l.* 14*s.* 4*d.* disbursed in the Bonaventure at Plymouth before my going to

[1] For this and following papers see note on Naval Pay, *post*, p. 286.

sea, with also such further consideration as by your good Lordships shall be thought meet to bestow upon myself towards my great charges and entertainment, with the promise of 1,000*l.* which I must give to special captains and men of desert which have most valiantly performed the parts of good servitors in this action, may be deducted from the 50,000*l.*, and the bonds by me and the merchants to be made unto her Majesty for the just rest remaining.[1]

The Bonaventure . .	250	770 men
The Rainbow . . .	250	
The Dreadnought . .	200	
The Makeshift . .	35	
The Spy	35	

These 770 men departed and entered into the sea charge the 10th of March last and ended their service the 29th day of June following, which was four months after, 28 days to the month, for which time I paid nothing, but it was wholly answered by Sir Francis Drake, Knight. Written the 28th of November, 1587. John Hawkyns.

The wages of 770 men aforesaid serving four months after, 28 days to the month, at 14*s.* the man per mensem, [is 537*l.* 10*s.* and for 4 months it][2]

[1] Drake at this time, finding he was not to be allowed to return and complete his work on the coast of Spain, was organising a private expedition in secret concert with the Earl of Essex. Its precise object was never revealed, but the Government, apparently suspecting a design to force their hands and drive them into active hostilities against Spain, demanded security for his good behaviour, in bonds to the amount of 50,000*l.* It would seem that Hawkyns, as usual, was acting with him, and the Treasurer's proposal is that the amount the Government owes him for the pay of the Queen's ships shall be set off in part satisfaction of the security demanded.

[2] Inserted in Burghley's hand.

amounteth to 2,150*l.*, as her Majesty doth ordinarily allow, diets of captains, dead shares, and rewards in the same accounted.

The two months' wages which were given of her Majesty's reward to the company amounteth to 1,075*l.*, so as the whole amounteth to 3,225*l.*

The overplus which is required by Sir Francis for a further reward to the company which he hath paid doth amount unto 6,566*l.* 7*s.* 8*d.*

John Hawkyns.

[*Note in Burghley's hand*: 'Total, 9,791*l.*']

DEMANDS OF SHARES MADE BY SIR FR. DRAKE FOR SERVITORS, &c.

[S.P. Dom. ccv. 53.]

The rate set down by Sir Francis Drake, Knight, for the pay of 770 men serving in three her Majesty's ships and two pinnaces under his charge, as followeth:

The rate of the captains and officers for land service:

£	*s*	*d.*		['pays'
228	0	0	Anthony Platt, lieutenant-general	36
190	0	0	John Marchant, sergeant-major .	30
72	0	0	John Harges, standard-bearer	12
			Philip Nicolls, preacher . .	12
			Captain Crosse . . .	12
			Captain Parker . . .	12
			Thomas Fenner . . .	12
			Edward Fenner (Captain). .	12
			Captain Poole (Captain) . .	12
			Captain Spindelow . . .	12

£	s.	d.		['pays']
			Captain Sydenham . . .	12
63	6	8	Captain Manington . . .	10
38	0	0	for 10 lieutenants at 6 shares is	60
25	6	8	for 10 ensigns at 4 shares is .	40
19	0	0	for 20 sergeants at 3 shares is .	60
15	16	8	for 40 corporals at $2\frac{1}{2}$ shares is	100
72	0	0	William Stallenge . . .	12
50	13	4	John Flower	8
[Total] 464 shares at 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* is 2,938*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*				

The rate for captains, officers, and others, for sea service :

£	s.	d.		['pays']
144	0	0	Thomas Fenner aforesaid, Vice-Admiral[1]	24
			Captain Bellingham, of the Rainbow	12
			Captain Bostocke, of the Makeshift	12
			Captain Clifford, of the Spy .	12
			The 3 masters of her Majesty's ships at 8, and the 2 masters of the pinnaces at 6, shares	36
			Robert Wignall, pilot in the Bonaventure . . .	8
			For 667 men, being the rest of 770	760
			[Total] 864 at 6*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* is 5,472*l.*	
			For so much given to certain of the Golden Lion's men coming home before .	350*l.*
			Sum total, 8,760*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*	

[1] He had probably been appointed Vice-Admiral on Borough's dismissal, or he may have been Vice-Admiral of Drake's squadron. Bellingham, however, has no flag-rank pay. See *ante*, p. 160 *n.*

A NOTE TOUCHING SIR FRANCIS DRAKE'S DEMAND.[1]

[**S.P. Dom. ccvi. 4.**]

	£	s.	d.
There is demanded by Sir Francis Drake (as I can remember) by his petition the sum of	9,700	0	0
1. Of which there is (as her Majesty doth ordinarily pay) four months' wages due to the company, being 770 men at 14*s.* the man per mensem (diets, dead shares, and rewards in the same accounted) .	2,150	0	0
2. Her Majesty was pleased to give in reward to that company two months' pay after the same rate, which is	1,075	0	0
3. Over and above the wages of six months aforesaid paid for the time of their four months' service (and the two months' reward) Sir Francis Drake doth pay the company of her Majesty's ships that were at the taking of the carrack six months' pay (as a further reward), which doth amount to .	3,225	0	0
4. More he doth reward divers of the Lion's company which do allege that they consented not to the bringing away of the ship . .	350	0	0
5. More he doth require a charge for removing the Bonaventure's cook-room, &c. the sum of . . .	30	0	0

[1] Endorsement.

	£	s.	d.
6. More he doth allow to officers for land service an overplus of a pay (as I do note hereafter) so many whole pays as doth amount unto	2,736	0	0
Sum . . .	9,566	0	0

The land captains and officers for that purpose:

Lieutenant-general which hath 36 pays at 6*l.* is . . .	216	0	0
A sergeant-major, 30 pays at 6*l.* is	180	0	0
Ten land captains, each one 12 pays, 120 at 6*l.* is . . .	720	0	0
Ten lieutenants, each one 6 pays, 60 at 6*l.* is	360	0	0
Ten ensigns, each one 4 pays, 40 at 6*l.* is	240	0	0
Twenty sergeants, each one 3 pays, 60 at 6*l.* is . . .	360	0	0
Forty corporals, each one $2\frac{1}{2}$ pays, 100 at 6*l.* is	600	0	0
A muster-master, 6 pays at 6*l.* is.	36	0	0
A clerk of the cheque, 4 pays at 6*l.* is	24	0	0
94 officers, 456 pays . .	2,736	0	0
6*s.* 8*d.* added to every of these pays is[1].	152	0	0
	2,888	0	0

These (as I do remember) be the officers, the number of pays, and the sum which is required to content them; which being added to the former

[1] This is added in a different hand. It would seem as though when the Queen revoked the two months' reward which she had ordered, this 6*s.* 8*d.* was substituted for it. See next page.

sums demanded doth little more or less make up the foresaid sum now demanded of 9,700*l.* As for proof:

	£	s.	d.
1. First the 4 months' pay due . .	2,150	0	0
2. Next the 2 months' reward allowed by her Majesty . . .	1,075	0	0
3. Thirdly 6 months' pay generally as a further reward . . .	3,225	0	0
4. Fourthly rewards for the company of the Lion	350	0	0
5. Fifthly a charge upon the Bonaventure	30	0	0
6. And lastly the pays to the land captains and officers . . .	2,736	0	0
Sum . . .	9,566	0	0
The increase of the pays of 6*s.* 8*d.* as above is	152	0	0
	9,718	0	0

Take out of this sum the reward of two months which your Lordship concluded upon to be abated out of the great sum, being 1,075*l.*, then her Majesty doth pay for the four months' service and all rewards . . . 8,643 0 0

So as the bonds[1] if it please your Lordship are to be made for . . 41,357 0 0

[*Added by Burghley*] . . . 750 0 0

42,107 0 0

[*Note in Burghley's hand*]

To be repaid to Mr. Hawkyns by Sir Francis Drake,

For prest money 88*l.*
To Fenner and Bellingham 50*l.* } 750*l.*
For wages at Plymouth 612*l.*

[1] See note, p. 186.

Intelligence

ADVERTISEMENT TOUCHING THE PREPARATIONS IN SPAIN[1]

[S.P. Dom. cxcviii. 34.]

The report of one Hans Frederick with other merchants of Danzig, who came from Setúval[2] in Portugal and stayed in their hulks in Stokebay, coming a-land to Portsmouth the 11th of February last.

First he saith there is 300 sail of ships stayed in South Spain in these ports following, viz. St. Lucar, Cadiz, Mary Port, Gibraltar, Velez,[3] Marbella[4] and Grand Malaga,[5] with all the ports in the Comandancia,[6] and that divers of their mariners run away, and some of them in this fleet of hulks which affirm this news to be most true and that all the wines and oils in the ports above written be taken to serve the King.

Also at Lisbon they look every day for a stay, and there is much preparation for the service of the King made. They have taken up all the victuals in every ship that cometh out of Holland or the East Countries,[7] both bacon and beef, butter and cheese and whatsoever else.

They have warned all the Easterlings to dispatch their corn out of their storehouses at Lisbon by the tenth of March next, for that the houses must serve the King for his provision, and by report there is the fifth man in Castile mustered to serve the King in these affairs.

Also there came a ship of the Duke of Florence

[1] Endorsement. [2] MS. 'St. Tovall.' [3] MS. 'Veyles.'
[4] MS. 'Marvelles.' [5] MS. 'Mallegay.'
[6] That is, the Province of Malaga. MS. has 'comondath.'
[7] Meaning the Hanseatic and other ports in the Baltic. Their inhabitants were called Easterlings.

called the Galleon of Florence to Lisbon about the 21st of January last, and the report of all Lisbon is that she hath 300 brass pieces to serve the King, and 40 last of powder, which is known to be most certain, and the same ship also to serve, which hath threescore and two port-pieces mounted in her.

And further they encourage all strangers whom they stay, affirming that the Catholics will yield up this realm unto the King without bloodshed.

Intelligence

SPANISH ADVICES

[**S.P. Dom. cciii. 33.**]

The Report of Gilbert Tyson, who came from Lisbon the 3rd of September, being Sunday.

Since the Marquis his going to the sea[1] there hath come into Lisbon at sundry times new supplies of shipping to the number of 90 sail, and daily more are expected furnished with munitions and soldiers.

30 sail forth of the Straits termed galleons.
4 galleasses, having in every one of them 600 a piece.
27 sail of hulks and flyboats termed victuallers to the fleet.
14 galleys.

And the rest of the shipping being smaller vessels for divers uses.

All which fleet being in a readiness about a week before the coming away of this party, there was proclamation made by drum and trumpet upon special order from the Court of Spain that all the captains

[1] This refers to the Marquis of Santa Cruz's chase of Drake to the Azores in July 1587.

with their companies should dispatch themselves for the Groyne and there to stay the return of the Marquis of Sta. Cruz with his fleet and of such other further provisions as should daily be sent unto them.

The purpose they have, as it is commonly given forth, is to come for these parts, Ireland, England, or Scotland ; but before the prime of the spring they will put nothing in execution, bragging to have a great day against England, terming it the disturber of Christendom and of the Catholic faith.

A great want of mariners they have, insomuch as they enforce Flemings and men of other nations to serve them, of whom many upon the proclamation made did come away. Divers of them being taken, [were] very severely punished and threatened to have been hanged.

The loss of the carrack which Sir Fra. Drake did take bred a marvellous grief, and with dread did the Marquis depart forth ; for it was given him to understand that there were 3 fleets of English men of war, Sir Fra. Drake having only the charge of the principal fleet. So that it was not feared only but certainly resolved upon, that the West Indies fleet (notwithstanding the waftage of the Marquis) would be intercepted. But about the same time that order came from the Court of Spain to dispatch that fleet to the Groyne, also came the news that 9 West Indies men were arrived at St. Lucar, but the rest of their fleet being about 25 or 26 sail more were not heard of, for these 9 ships were separated from the others by foul weather, and did not at all touch at the Islands, neither knew of the Marquis being there.

There was great joy of the coming of these nine ships, and the captains and soldiers made therefore a triumph, now expecting Royal payment, whereof before they did despair. And for that the news was come certain that Sir Fra. Drake was

retired home (whom they imagine worketh by a familiar) they also confirm themselves in hope of the safe arrival of all the rest of the Indies fleet, to the King his settled enriching for many years to perform his intent withal.

At the coming away of this party he met with 4 great ships putting into Lisbon, which he understood to be Indies men, whether East or West he knew not.

The King about two months past was sick of his old disease, aches in the bones, but thereof now he is again recovered.

Thus much he affirmeth to be true, and will be ready to verify the same, for that he was an eye witness.

Intelligence

[**S.P. Dom. cciii. 52.**]

Anthony Wheatly, mariner, being examined by William Waad, one of the clerks of the Council, the 25th day of September, 1587, confesseth as followeth.

He went from hence five years sithence in a ship called the Margaret Bonaventure with one John Vassel, master of the same ship, bound for Leghorn[1] and Genoa, returning back to Mutterell,[2] unloaded there, and from thence went to Cadiz, where this examinate demanding his duties was denied the same by the same Vassel, where by the procurement of one John Baptist, an Italian, this examinate was taken to serve the King of Spain and went with the said Baptist to the Islands, where he continued against

[1] MS. 'Lygorne' for Livorno.
[2] Perhaps 'Martorell,' near Barcelona.

his will ever since the Islands were taken,[1] having oftentimes demanded passport for to return into England, which till of late he could never obtain.

In which Islands he saith he was accused by two Spaniards and a Portingall that he had received letters from Sir Francis Drake, and was by that means imprisoned in a dungeon eleven days, where upon his examination the rack was laid before him, and in the end finding no cause against him was released to his former charge.

And not long after his release out of prison, perceiving that the King of Spain pretended wars against England, he got his reckoning made up and procured a passport from his captain and so came to Lisbon, where he demanded his wages of the Marquis de Sta. Cruz, and by his Secretary, to whom he gave twenty ducats to further his suit, he received of the Marquis a hundred ducats, and hearing of a Portugal ship bound for Flanders and Danzig did therein embark himself and by contrary wind driven into England here arrived, the said ship lying at this present at Blackwall.

He came from Lisbon the 25th of July last.[2]

This examinate further declareth that at his coming from thence the Marquis de Sta. Cruz was bound out with a fleet of ships, viz. 14 galleons, 13 belonging to the King of Portugal, the other to the Duke of Florence.

The names of some which he knew are these: the galleon St. Martin, who is Admiral, wherein goeth the Marquis himself, of burthen 1,000 tons, who (they say) hath 90 pieces of ordnance.

The St. John, being of the same burthen.

The St. Mark, of 700.

[1] Referring to the reduction of the Azores by Santa Cruz in 1582.

[2] This sentence is written in the margin by another hand.

The galleon of the Duke of Florence, of burthen 1,200.

The rest, as he heard, of burthen some 400, some 300, and the least of them 250. The other of the fleet being Biscayans,[1] some great, some small, which are very well appointed and manned, in all fifty sails ready to go away, as they say, for the Islands to meet the fleet that cometh from the Indies.

He further heard that at Cadiz there were four galleasses which came from Naples determined to meet the Marquis at sea and to accompany him; and words used in Lisbon that 14,000 Italians should come from Italy for Spain, and as the common voice goeth there, determined to make an army for England.

AGENDA FOR THE COUNCIL

[**S.P. Dom. cciv. 2.**—Holograph in Burghley's hand.]

October 3, 1587.

To be considered:

That presently Tippet be sent to the seas with the pinnace wherewith he lately returned, and that he be instructed by the Lord Admiral or Sir Francis Drake how to discover whether any preparations be made of shipping for the wars at the Groyne, or in any port of Biscay, and to return with speed to advertise what he shall have discovered.

The Lord Admiral and the Officers: That the Queen's whole Navy be put in readiness and all necessaries provided for their rigging.

Letters from the Council in the Queen's name to all Vice-Admirals: That a general stay be made in all ports of all ships, that none may pass to cross

[1] MS. 'byskynnes.'

the seas, until further order be directed, and that all owners of any ships that may serve on the seas to join with the Queen's Majesty's Navy, may be required to repair their ships that they may be ready to serve upon commandment.

Letters from the Council to all the Lieutenants: That a charge be sent to all the Lieutenants, as well within land as on the sea coasts, to review the forces to be in readiness and all things heretofore prescribed to them for the arraying, arming, and enabling the forces of the country to be ready upon all occasions to serve against the attempt of any enemy.

From her Majesty: That letters be written to the Earl of Leicester, to signify the intelligence that her Majesty [hath] of the great preparations in Spain by sea, with likelihood to offend her Majesty, or otherwise to come into the Low Countries; and thereupon that his Lordship may deal with the States for to prepare a navy of some good strength to join with her Majesty's Navy according to the compact made by them with her Majesty, and to advertise what number of ships and men her Majesty may look for to join with hers, and to hasten the said shipping.

Mr. Secretary: To use some means to understand the preparations of the Duke of Parma's shipping in Antwerp and Flanders.

From Mr. Secretary: To have a collection made of all the forces that this last year were ordered to be in readiness as well within land as on the sea coast, so as her Majesty may thereof be advertised and their defects remedied.

From Mr. Secretary: To have a register of the names of all recusants, that are men of possessions in every shire of the realm, that there be such order taken with them, as they may do no harm, nor be any comfort to the enemy.

That the goods taken by Sir Francis Drake in the Philip of Spain may be speedily sorted and perfect books thereof [prepared], and thereupon advice may be taken how those commodities may be best sold for ready money, so as her Majesty may employ her portion for the arming of her Navy, and the merchants and other adventurers may also employ their portions to the discharge of their former shipping and also to arm their shipping newly to the seas to join with her Majesty's Navy.

That Sir Francis Drake yield up his account for this last voyage; and Mr. Hawkyns, that her Majesty may be duly informed what profit may be looked for by that voyage.

The account also of Sir Francis Drake for the voyage of Cartagena would be seen and information given to her Majesty what the gain or loss may be of that voyage.[1]

The prize brought home by Sir Wm. Wynter's galley, sent by her Majesty with advice to Sir Francis Drake, to be considered of what value the same was, that the gain rising above the charge may be answered to her Majesty and the adventurers in this last voyage.[2]

For Ireland: That the Lord Deputy be advertised of the intelligences agreeable with those that were sent by him out of Ireland concerning the great preparations in Spain, and that he be advised to do his best to put such forces as may be levied to be ready upon the south sea-coast and that he cause as many horsemen as can be gotten to serve upon the places suspected for landing. That all persons of Irish birth dwelling near the sea-coast, that may be suspected, be removed inwardly into the towns and to be deprived of their weapons.

[1] See *ante*, p. 86. [2] See *ante*, p. 102 *n*..

That the Lord Deputy may understand that her Majesty meaneth to have a Navy both of her own ships and of her realm to be upon the seas to impeach the landing of the enemy.

That all men of service having entertainment in Ireland may be commanded to repair to their places of service.

REPORT OF THE CARRACK PRIZE COMMISSION

I.

[**S.P. Dom. ccii. 53.**—Signed.]

A note or inventory of a small casket with divers jewels viewed by us in the Town of Saltash the 11th of July, 1587, containing as followeth :—

Six forks of gold.
Twelve hafts of gold for knives, to say, six of one sort and six of another.
One chain of gold with long links and hooks.
One chain of gold with a tablet having a picture of Christ in gold.
One chain with a tablet of crystal and a cross of gold.
One chain of gold of 'Esses' with four diamonds and four rubies set in a tablet.
One chain of small beadstones of gold.
One small chain of gold with rough links and a tablet hanging unto it with the picture of Christ and our Lady.
Two pendants of gold for the ears.
Three bracelets of gold each with a cross of sundry fashion.
A girdle of crystal garnished with gold.
A pair of beads of benjamin garnished with gold.

Three rings of gold with stones.
One round hoop of gold enamelled with black.
One small ring of gold with a pearl.
Three heads and three rings of gold for walking staves.
One bowl of gold and six spoons of gold.
Two pomanders, the one with a small chain of gold and garnished with gold.
One pomander garnished with gold and a pearl hanging to the same.
One small box with some musk in it.
A certain quantity in pieces of ambergris.[1]
One hundred eighty and nine small stones which we esteem to be garnets.
Thirty-nine agates small and great.
Eleven other stones of a green colour with spots of red.
One blood stone.
One white cloth in the which there goeth divers small stones thought to be of small value.

The said casket garnished with gold with two keys and a small chain of gold to the same.

The which casket and jewels before rehearsed, Sir Francis Drake hath taken charge to deliver unto her Majesty with his own hands at this present.

John Gilberte, Edwa. Carye,
Thomas Gorges, John Hawkyns,
Fra. Godolphin, Henry Billingsley.

[1] MS. 'amber greece.'

II.

[**S.P. Dom. cciv. 8.**—Original, signed.[1]]

A brief inventory of such things as have been taken out of [ ] chests and 39 packages :

		£	s.	d.
6,573	pieces of unstarched calico, at 13*s.* 4*d.* a piece . . .	4,382	0	0
1,022	pieces of broad unstarched calicoes, at 20*s.* a piece . .	1,022	0	0
2,778	pieces of calico in papers sound, at 13*s.* 4*d.* a piece . .	1,852	0	0
1,452	pieces of calico lawns sound, at 20*s.* a piece . . .	1,452	0	0
1,705	pieces of coarse unstarched calicoes whole at 9*s.* piece .	767	5	0
7,423	pieces of coarse calicoes of 3 to 1, at 3*s.* the piece. . .	1,113	9	0
1,162	pieces of coarse calicoes of 3 to 2, at 6*s.* the piece . . .	348	12	0
418	pieces of coarse calico towels, at 12*d.* the piece . . .	20	18	0
410	pieces of pintados,[2] at 3*s.* the piece, amounteth to . .	61	10	0
98	pieces of calico diapers for cupboard[3] cloths, at 4*s.* piece .	19	12	0
14	pieces of fine calico called canekens,[4] unstarched, at [20*s.*] .	14	0	0
4	pieces of fine calico called canekens, starched, at [20*s.*]. .	4	0	0
780	bundles of China silk raw and sound, at 110*s.*	4,290	0	0

[1] No. 9 in the same volume is a duplicate, also signed, but in slightly different wording.

[2] Coloured cotton cloth.

[3] MS. 'cubbard.'

[4] 'Callikens' in the duplicate.

		£	s.	d.
90	pieces of stitched calico cloth, alias Boulter, at 5*s.* piece .	22	10	0
214	pieces of coloured[1] buckrams, at 2*s.* the piece	21	8	0
72	pieces of coloured[1] Cyprus,[2] sound, at 6*s.* 8*d.* piece . .	24	0	0
4	quilts of calico, at 20*s.* a piece is	4	0	0
12	calico carpets of sundry sorts and values, at . . .	50	0	0
10	striped coarse carpets of another sort, at 5*s.* piece . . .	2	10	0
47	pieces of coloured[3] taffetas sarsenet,[4] at 3*s.* 4*d.* piece . .	7	16	8
11	pieces of changeable Boratos,[5] at 40*s.* the piece . . .	22	0	0
1	quilt of sarsenet, at 30*s.* the piece, is	1	10	0
49	pieces of white sarsenet, sound, at 30*s.* piece	73	10	0
		15,576	10	8

Tainted merchandise follows:

40	bundles China silk, at 30*s.* the bundle	60	0	0
1,105	pieces of starched calico of the best sort			

[1] MS. 'cullers.' Duplicate 'cullerd.'

[2] MS. 'Sypres.' Cyprus was a thin transparent stuff, usually black, a kind of crape.

[3] MS. 'collers.'

[4] Taffeta at this time meant plain silk goods. Taffeta sarsenet was probably a mixture of wool and silk, such as is now called taffeta. Sarsenet was strictly a cloth made by Saracens. The duplicate has 'tinsell taffytas.'

[5] Probably reversible barrado—that is, stuff dyed in stripes or bars. MS. in the duplicate has 'changable silke and chenell Boratos.'

	£	s.	d.
338 pieces of starched calico of the second sort 298 pieces of starched calico of the third sort 150 pieces of unstarched calico of the best sort 5 pieces of unstarched calico of the second sort in all 1,896 pieces, at 6*s.* 8*d.* a piece, one with the other	632	0	0
215 pieces of calico lawns of the best sort 58 pieces of calico lawns of the second sort 25 pieces of calico lawns of the third sort 298 pieces at 10*s.* piece . . .	149	0	0
67 pieces of calicoes in papers, at 6*s.* 8*d.* a paper . . .	22	6	8
44 pieces of coloured Ciprus at 2*s.* a piece	4	8	0
6 pieces of coloured taffetas, at 2*s.* a piece	0	12	0
29 pieces of white sarsenet, at 13*s.* 4*d.* a piece . . .	19	6	8
	887	13	4

[*Spices.*]

420 bales of indigo blue, at 36*l.* a bale	15,120	0	0
after 3*s.* lb. 330 tons of dry pepper by estimation as by the invoice appeareth, being ¾ parts thereof at 130*l.* the ton . . .	42,900	0	0
after 20*d.* lb. 124 tons of wet pepper by estimation, at 70*l.* the ton	8,680	0	0

	£	s.	d.
after 5*s.* lb. 218 quintals of cinnamon, at 28*l.* the quintal[1] . .	6,104	0	0
4*s.* lb. 105 quintals of cloves, at 20*l.* the quintal[1] . . .	2,100	0	0
6 chests of mace, esteemed 300*l.* a piece, at 6*s.* 8*d.* the lb. .	600	0	0
20 hundredweight of benjamin,[2] at 28*l.* the cwt.	500	0	0
Sum total of this page . .	92,528	4	0

[*Goods unsold at Saltash.*]

3 pipes of China, esteemed at 100*l.* a pipe, pz.[3] 600 a piece	300	0	0
70 quintals of lacry,[4] at 4*l.* a quintal	280	0	0
15 pipes of saltpetre, at 30*l.* a pipe	450	0	0
2 pipes of wax, pz. 12 cwt. at 40*l.*	40	0	0
2 pipes of nutmegs, pz. 10 cwt. at 3*s.* the lb.	150	0	0
80 tons of ebony by estimation in 3,560 ends, at 10*l.* a ton .	800	0	0
6 chests of China silk not viewed, sold to John Gills, esteemed worth	1,200	0	0
In divers drugs and other odd things not written . . .	100	0	0
Goods left to sell at Saltash .	3,320	0	0

[*Goods sold at Saltash.*]

39½ tons of pepper, esteemed at 130*l.* the ton . . .	5,135	0	0
19 cwt. of cinnamon, at 28*l.* the cwt.	532	0	0

[1] MS. 'kyntall,' a Spanish weight of 100 lbs.

[2] Gum benjamin, a concrete resinous juice obtained from styrax benzoin, a tree of Sumatra, and used for perfumes, incense, &c.

[3] 'pezante,' weighing.

[4] Probably 'lacquer.'

	£	s.	d.
1 chest of maces, pz. net 3 2 0, at 6*s.* 8*d.* the lb. . . .	100	0	0
12 cwt. of cloves rated at 20*l.* the cwt. is	240	0	0
11 cwt. of indigo blue at 30*l.* the cwt. is	330	0	0
Wares sold at Saltash . .	6,337	0	0

Summary by the Commissioners.

In sundry parcels amounting in gross to	5,864	9	11
Sum of the former page . . .	92,528	4	0
More of the upper sum . . .	3,320	0	0
More of the second sum . . .	6,337	0	0
	108,049	13	11

Fra. Drake,
Edwa. Carye,
William Garway,
Alexander Every,
Thomas Gorges,
Henry Billingsley,
Thomas Cordell,
Paul Bayninge,
Hugh Lee.[1]

[1] The last three were Merchant adventurers. See agreement *ante*, p. 105.

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS

HAWKYNS'S ADMINISTRATION[1]

I

WYNTER[2] *TO BURGHLEY*

[**Add. MS. 9294, f. 60.**—Signed.]

It may please your Lordship I have some understanding of the conditions that John Hawkyns requireth should pass between the Queen's Majesty and him touching the bargain that he offereth at this time unto her Highness, your Lordship, and other my good Lords of her Majesty's Privy Council, for the joining the ordinary and extraordinary together, which truly doth carry a show of good and acceptable service; but I am sorry to speak it (as I desire comfort at God's hands) there is nothing in it but cunning and craft to maintain his pride and ambition, and for the better filling of his purse, and to keep back from discovering the faults that are left in her Majesty's ships at this day which should have been

[1] See further on this subject, Oppenheim, *Administration of the Royal Navy*, App. C, and Laughton, *Defeat of the Armada*, i. 34–7, 38–44, 77, 79, 87, 273; ii. 266–7.

[2] As 'Surveyor of the Ships.'

perfected by the bargain made between her Majesty and the two shipwrights Pett and Baker (wherein Hawkyns was an invisible partner). What was promised should be performed by that bargain, your Lordship I doubt not doth remember, and so do I, Holstok and Christopher Baker, howsoever their indentures were penned by John Hawkyns and such as he pleased to call unto him for the doing thereof. And albeit that the Queen's Majesty hath disbursed in clouds the sum of 1,500*l.* per estimation over and besides the yearly sum of a thousand pounds allowed them for the ordinary, which the said carpenters should in truth have laid out, yet what faults remaineth in the Navy the thing will show itself (if plain dealing be not suppressed); which matter I speak not to flatter you. By the living God I see your Lordship doth as a most faithful servant and councillor to her Majesty go about to withstand as near as you can; for were you not another Ulysses that hath tied yourself to the main-mast, this mermaid Hawkyns would draw you over-board as he hath done your better,[1] your equals and inferiors. For he careth not to whom he speaketh, nor what he saith; blush he will not. Your Lordship, if it will please you to call to remembrance, you did hear both him and Peter Pett at their and my late being before your Lordship, with what execrations and what pains they would suffer if there were any rotten timbers now left in the Hope being in the dock at Deptford. Which speeches had been sufficient to have persuaded you, a man of hard belief, much more a good meaning person to have given them credit, but for proof to the contrary. It may like your Lordship, I and other my fellows were appointed by Mr. Hawkyns to come to Deptford yesterday last to confer about an estimate that

[1] Meaning, of course, the Queen.

should be made for the chain and other matters concerning the shutting of the River against Upnor Castle, which chain I am of opinion will be a great charge to small purpose.[1] So that at our coming thither finding him not at home but attending at the Court, I went in the meantime aboard the said ship, where I found great store of rotten dust, and upon demand made to a carpenter there working, from whence the same rottenness come? He answered me so faintly that I doubted some imperfection, and therefore thought good to cause him to pull off part of the bad plaster that he had laid on to cover that sore; which being open (a matter of 4 or 5 foot in length) there did appear 4 or 5 timbers whereof 3 were rotten (I would to God these were all), which after were seen by Mr. Borough and others, whom I called unto it. This being true as nothing is more, I leave to your honorable judgment what credit these fellows are of. I most humbly pray your Lordship that it might please you not to think that I do this of stomach or of malice, but only in discharge of my duty to her Highness in respect of my office and allegiance; the which proceedings of mine, if it shall not seem good to her Majesty to allow of, I can and must be contented to rest silent, hoping that whatsoever thereby shall happen hereafter I shall be excused. And truly, my Lord, I am utterly tired with these brabbles,[2] for were it not that I have been desirous that her Highness should be well served, albeit it is given out by Mr. Hawkyns that her Highness is in misliking with me, which I trust to God I have not deserved, nor never will. Her Majesty had not had but a few of her own ships in good state to serve at this day, as I

[1] The Council had wind of a plot to burn the ships at their moorings. (*S.P. Dom.* clxxvii. 26, 31, 32.)

[2] A petty quarrel. Halliwell and Wright.

can make it probable.[1] And thus fearing, my Lord, I have been too tedious, I leave, praying heartily to God to send you long life and good health. Written from East Smithfield, being not very well, the 8th of April, 1585.

Your honorable Lordship to command,

W. WYNTER.[2]

II.

Hawkyns's Proposal as to the Navy Estimates in Time of War

[**S.P. Dom. ccii. 35**.—Signed copy, *ibid.* 36.]

The state and manner how her Majesty's ships have been continued and ordered since the eleventh year of her Majesty's reign, viz. :

[I.] *How it was in time past.*

First there was allowed and paid by warrant dormant 5,714*l.* yearly, for which sum there was performed these things following :—

The wages of the shipkeepers.

The ransacking and keeping of the ships in harbour till they come to be new built or dry docked.

The grounding of the said ships as was fit for them, and as their time came about to continue them in harbour, some in three years, some in two years, and others of the lesser sort once a year. For this service aforesaid all kind of ironwork and stuff was provided.

The mooring of the ships in harbour.

[1] The protasis of the sentence is omitted. Some such words as 'if it had not been for my care and loyalty' should be added.

[2] Wynter subsequently changed his opinion on Hawkyns entirely (see *post*), and then resumed his old hostility. (*Defeat of the Armada*, pp. 266–8.)

The wages of the gunners in Upnor Castle.

The wages of clerks, &c., keepers of the plugs [1] at Chatham, Deptford, Woolwich, and Portsmouth.

The fees of shipwrights, porters, messengers, and such like.

The rent for storehouses.

Fees for keeping of houses at Woolwich and Portsmouth.

Repairing of houses at Deptford, Woolwich, Chatham, and Portsmouth.

The watch at Chatham and Deptford.

All this aforesaid hath been borne upon the old Ordinary Warrant abovesaid of 5,714*l.* yearly.

There was also besides this (*communibus annis*) an Extraordinary Charge which passed by warrant from her Majesty for the new building and repairing of ships in dry docks to the sum of 2,500*l.* yearly.

This whole charge for the purposes aforesaid from the year of 1568 unto the year of 1579 was 8,214*l.* yearly.

[II.] *How it is now.*

Then followed the agreement [2] with John Hawkyns in 1579. And since that time the Ordinary abovesaid and the Extraordinary charge of repairing and new reforming of the ships in dry docks hath been maintained only upon the charge of the first Ordinary Warrant of 5,714*l.* yearly.

The Navy is now greatly increased, for which it is fit an Ordinary be considered of for their maintenance.

The sea service by mean of this troublesome time doth greatly increase charge and business. So

[1] Probably refers to the dry docks at these places.

[2] For the terms of this agreement under which the Treasurer of the Navy contracted to keep the Queen's ships ready for immediate mobilisation, see *Defeat of the Armada*, i. 34.

as it is impossible for any one man to answer the office of Treasurer and to take this care.

Sir William Wynter and the rest of the Officers of the Navy having substantially considered with my Lord Admiral, do and will endeavour themselves and are most desirous to ease her Majesty's charge, and to do it in such sort as the Navy and provisions thereunto belonging be surely and sufficiently provided for all service. And withal to take such substantial care as her Majesty be not overcharged, whereby her Highness shall be encouraged to continue and maintain the said Navy in forcible and ready order for the defence of her Majesty and our country.

[III.] *How it may be.*

Therefore my opinion is as followeth : That it may please her Majesty to appoint certain of her Council and some others to join with my Lord Admiral in commission to see how this charge may be settled, and a new Warrant Dormant made for such a sum as should be by them determined.

In the end of which warrant there would be such a clause made as was in the last bargain with Mr. Baeshe,[1] that what charge should exceed above the Warrant Dormant (and reason showed under the hands of the Lord Admiral and three others of the officers of the Lord Treasurer) ; thereupon at the year's end such overplus should be paid to the Treasurer of the Navy without any other warrant to be procured from her Majesty for the same.

And for that divers disorders have been in the carpentry, the provisions appertaining to the rigging, and the powder and furniture of artillery had out of the Tower, wherein, by the great purloining and waste of the provisions appertaining to

[1] Surveyor of the Victuals.

those matters aforesaid, her Majesty hath been greatly burdened and overcharged, this, in duty—if it may stand with the consideration and liking of the Commissioners: That during these times of service I think it would be meet there were a provost-marshal attendant upon the Lord Admiral and Office of the Navy to do such present execution aboard the ships upon the offenders as should be appointed and adjudged by the said Lord Admiral and the Officers of the Navy according to the quality of the offence committed.

When it shall please God to send a quiet time then the said Commissioners may have order to compound a certainty of her Majesty's charge of all manner of expense belonging to the Navy. And so divide it to the charge of few or such number of persons as shall be by them thought meet for her Highness's profit and safety.

27 June, 1587.

John Hawkyns.

III

Anonymous allegation of Reasons for rejecting Hawkyns's Proposals[1]

[**S.P. Dom. cciv. 17.**]

Articles wherein may appear her Majesty to be abused and Mr. Hawkyns greatly enriched.

1. First, his bargain is not performed in building her Majesty's ships in time convenient as their state required, but hath sparingly passed them over from year to year, and so are they brought to their last end, and dangerous state, and he now, in revoking

[1] Perhaps by Thos. Alleyn. See *post*, p. 216 *n.*, and especially the complaint about cordage in article 7.

his bargain, shall leave her Majesty a great charge to renew them, and himself go away with no small gain.

2. Item, [for] all such ships as hath been docked or repaired in the time of his bargain he had such allowance as hath borne the greatest part of his charge, yet not known to her Majesty because he hath taken upon him to discharge the same out of the yearly warrant of 5,714*l.* Let it be duly considered, and accordingly examined, and it shall be proved that her Majesty was never so much overcharged, the navy more slenderly [re]garded,[1] and a subject so enriched.

3. Item, the shipwrights are his instruments to serve his purpose and cloaks for his dissembling excuses, to bear the name of all such bargains, as is made by his policy, over to the shipwrights, and then he to take it from them, and reap the benefit of the travail, and they to stand to his reward. So is her Majesty overcharged, the shipwrights overruled, and he greatly enriched.

4. Item, he useth her Majesty's commission for his private commodity, disposing great quantity of timber into sugar chests, and vendeth[2] the same for Barbary. Besides in all other his private buildings, be it in making new ships or repairing of old, he hath the benefit of the commission, using Richard Chapman's yard for that purpose to their great gains.

5. Item, he taketh great exactions of her Majesty, in the providing of masts, timber, planks, boards, &c., such as is used in sea service and other extraordinary works, as is not incident to his bargain, wherein her Majesty is overcharged, the stuff imperfect, but he enriched.

6. Item, he endangereth the state of the navy

[1] Flaw in paper. [2] MS. 'Venteth.'

and hasteneth the decay of the same by using filthy and rotten oakum, and spareth all such cables as hath been accustomed to be disposed to the use of good oakum ; and now are the same cables converted into ropes again, and sold oftentimes in place of new ropes, to the deceiving of many, her subjects ; and suspected it is that there cometh into the storehouse [some] of the same. So is there a marvellous profit yearly made of the moorings and overmuch gain.

7. Item, the great quantity of cordage and canvas that is delivered into her Majesty's storehouse bringeth profit and great gain, being bought at one price and set down at a greater ; and oftentimes Boston ropes and Lynn ropes shall bear the names of Danzig and Melvine[1] ropes, whereby her Majesty is not only deceived, but men and ships endangered, yet he enriched.

8. Item, to consider the great supplies that daily is required and goeth out for the wastes at the seas, and the small quantity that returneth to her Majesty's benefit. Again, the dead pays and remains of victuals, &c., is an unknown gain.

The premises considered, it cannot be but Mr. Hawkyns his state is such as he may very well put her Majesty's ships in such order as he found them, though he were to build two or three of them all new, specially those two which were lately at the seas, whose imperfections must needs be relieved before they can answer any service. This he may do and go a gainer away.

[1] ? Memel.

IV

Memorial exposing the Abuses of the Official Contract System[1]

[S.P. Dom. cciv. 16.]

Certain articles to be delivered to her Majesty, very good to be amended by her Majesty.

First, that it is not convenient that he who is her Majesty's Treasurer should buy or provide any commodity for her Majesty's navy, with her Majesty's money, nor play the merchant to buy and sell to others, for by this means her Majesty shall have the remainder when the best is sold, and at a dear price.

Secondly, it is very unmeet for her Majesty's profit that those her Highness's officers shall be any builders of ships, or setters forth of any ships to sea,

[1] Endorsed in Burghley's hand 'by Thos. Alleyn.' This man, who was 'Queen's Merchant' for Dantzig cordage, is probably mainly responsible for the slanders against Hawkyns. This was not the first of them. As far back as 1572 he complained to Burghley that since 'the restraint at Dantzig three years past' he had set up a rope manufactory at home, but now could get no orders from the Navy. 'They in the City,' he says, 'have given him over, and appointed others to serve and take into the Queen's storehouse such stuff and other provision, which he may not dispraise, but yet not worthy to come into that house, delivered by Mr. Hawkyns and the Muscovy House.' Here is obviously the origin of his enmity to Hawkyns. (See *Hatfield Papers*, ii. 37.) Later on Alleyn became a treasurer of Frobiser's North-West ventures, and was accused by the admiral of malversation. (See Alleyn to Sir Lionel Ducket, *S.P. Dom.* cxxix. 9, 13 Jan. 1579.) But he seems to have succeeded in throwing the whole blame on Michael Lock. (*Ibid.* cxlix. 42.) In 1581 he was importing hemp and other Baltic stores from the newly opened port of Narva (*ibid.* 77), and at this time probably was anxious to resume his old employment of supplying such stores to the Navy. See also *Defeat of Armada*, i. 95.

but only her Majesty's ships, or to provide any commodity for them, because all her Majesty's provisions is at their commandment, to deliver and to send where they will and to whom.

Thirdly, it is not convenient that her Highness's officers shall have any partners with any, and especially not with him who is appointed to provide her Majesty's provisions, for there is danger, &c.

Fourthly, it is very unconvenient that her Majesty's officers should provide all things for her navy, because they are appointed to give order to them who it shall please her Majesty to appoint to make provision, and when it cometh they are to see whether it be good and sufficient to serve her Majesty or no, or else to refuse it; and it be good, then they are to set a reasonable price in conscience between her Majesty and her merchant, but [this] if it be their own, and of their own providing, they will hardly do, for their conscience will not serve them.

Fifthly, this must needs be a very good office and will quickly make one rich, and their conscience be open to have the providing of all things for her Majesty's navy, then to make his own price (be it good or bad, none to control them), then to pay themselves. What can be more desired of him that is covetous, or doth not mean to deal truly with her Majesty?

Sixthly, if they neither fear God nor mean not to do right to her Majesty, yet let them take heed of her Majesty's laws, that the cry of the poor and rich be not revenged by God. For there is a statute that what officer soever he be that hath a commission from her Majesty, to provide anything for her Majesty's use, and do take it up by her Majesty's commission, and doth sell the same again, or any part thereof, to his own profit, it is felony. This statute is in vain, never executed.

Seventhly, and last, and most to be regarded, that good order may be taken for it to have all your provision to come first into your Majesty's storehouses, where it ought to come. Then he that hath the keeping thereof to be charged therewith, and once a year, or more and need be, to give account what he hath received, and to whom he hath delivered it, and how much remaineth. Let the remainder be seen, which remainder and that which is delivered must agree with your merchant's book who delivered it first into your Majesty's storehouse; so thus far your Majesty can have no wrong if they do agree.

But yet there is one thing more to be considered of, whereof I cannot write.[1]

V

The same, with a Personal Attack on Hawkyns

[**S.P. Dom. cciv. 18.**]

Certain articles and orders meet to be used and ordered touching the Queen's Majesty's navy beneficial for her Majesty, as hereafter followeth:

First, that it is not convenient that he who is her Majesty's treasurer should buy or provide any commodities for her Majesty's navy nor play the merchant to buy and sell to all men, to his own gain, and with her Majesty's own money, for by those means her Majesty shall have the remainder when the best is sold, and yet at a dear price.

[1] The following document shows he is hinting at some charges of personal dishonesty against Hawkyns. Read with No. VI. it shows that the anonymous author was the holder of a monopoly in connection with naval stores, which had become less profitable than it was before the making of Hawkyns's contract.

It is very unmeet for her Majesty's profit that those her Highness's officers shall be any builders or setters out of ships, or partners with any that doth build or set out ships to sea, but only her Majesty's own ships, because all her Majesty's provision is at their commandment, to deliver and to send where and to whom they will.

It is not convenient that her Majesty's officers shall provide all things for her Majesty's navy, because they are appointed to give order to them who it shall please her Majesty to appoint, to make her provision for the navy, nor be partner with him, because they are appointed by her Majesty to see if the provision be good and sufficient to serve her Majesty or no or else to refuse it, but and it be good, then they are to set a reasonable price between her Majesty and her Majesty's merchant. But if it should be their own in part or in all, their consciences will hardly suffer them to hurt themselves, as they have and will do to the merchant when they have no profit.

This must needs be a very good office and will quickly make one rich, and their consciences be open to have the providing of all things for her Majesty's navy, then to make their own prices (be it good or bad, none to control them), then to pay themselves. What can be more desired of him that is covetous, or doth not mean to deal truly with her Majesty?

He hath divers other filches[1] to gain besides these, wherein he gaineth very much by every artificer that serveth her Majesty, yea not so much as the poor flag and pendant maker is taken from them. Hawkyns's wife and maids must make them.[2] That all is too little for him. He crieth out, he is undone,

[1] MS. ffelches.

[2] The writer's feelings seem here to have got the better of his grammar. His meaning, however, is vaguely apparent.

a beggar! when he causeth many a poor man to beg; and if he should continue long, he would undo many a poor artificer as Pett and Baker[1] can well declare.

If he or they neither fear God nor mean to do right to her Majesty, yet let them take heed of her Majesty's laws, that the cry of the poor and rich both be not revenged of God on him. For there is a statute that what officer soever he be that hath a commission from her Majesty to provide anything for her Majesty's use, and do take it up by her Majesty's commission, and doth sell the same again, or any part thereof, to his own profit, it is felony. This statute is in vain, never executed.

This article is most to be regarded, and good order to be taken for it, which is to have all your Majesty's provision to come first into your Majesty's storehouses, where it ought to come. Then your keeper of your storehouses to be charged therewith, and once a year, or more if need be, to give account what he hath received and of whom, and how much he hath delivered, and to whom it is delivered, and how much remaineth. Let the remainder be known, and that which is delivered must needs agree with your merchant's books who delivered it first into the storehouse, so this being found true, your Majesty hath no wrong.

Now that which is delivered being known to what ships, either to the seas or else in harbour, there had need to be a special honest and true officer, for that purpose only, to see and to receive in a storehouse therefore appointed all the re-

[1] Pett and Baker, as the chief shipwrights to the Admiralty, were naturally hostile to Hawkyns. The contract system placed them entirely and directly under his control, and he, no doubt, for his own sake, cut down their profits and perquisites as low as possible. See, however, below (p. 231) their repudiation of any hostility towards him on these grounds.

mainders from the seas not wasted, which may be put into her Majesty's storehouse, and the officer charged therewith, and how and to whom he afterwards doth deliver it. So by this means shall your Majesty know your wastes, wherein your Majesty may be much deceived, and true men have not the dealing therewith. And in like manner, once a year, or more if need be, an account to be made as is for the other storehouses.

VI

Certain Notes to prove that Mr. John Hawkyns doth not deal truly with her Majesty [1]

There is one Honnyngborn,[2] who hath the keeping of her Majesty's storehouse at Deptford Strand, who is deputy for Christopher Baker, Clerk of the storehouse: the said Honnyngborne and Hawkyns have not been friends, but now of late great friends, since Sir William Wynter and Hawkyns did become friends; by this means Hawkyns may do in the great storehouse what he pleaseth.

I myself saw Honnyngborn receive a great number of small ropes in coils out of Hawkyns's storehouse, and put them into the great storehouse, which ropes few of them were good. I charged Honnyngborn with them, and asked by what warrant he took them in. He told me not, but said he would refuse them which were not good.

One Wylson, a ropemaker, will justify that one Cletherowe, a seller of ropes in London, did put

[1] This is written on the back of the last document, and is therefore also the work of Thomas Alleyn.

[2] See *post*, p. 249 *n*.

into her Majesty's storehouse at Deptford a great quantity of small ropes, and the keeper of the storehouse did set a tally [1] on them, and writ William Cokayne's [2] name thereon, a merchant of Danzig; but these ropes were made in Lyme and Boston. There is difference in every hundredweight at least five shillings. This is true dealing, and the said Cletherowe is he that doth buy all things for Hawkyns.

Matthew Baker saith that when Peter Pett and he did take the repairing of her Majesty's ships Hawkyns would needs be half with them, but the rest of the officers did not know that Hawkyns had any part with them.

Then Hawkyns would persuade the officers to give them great allowances because he was a partner, and at the last Hawkyns would have the whole bargain in his own hands and gave them wages, so he made his own allowances as he pleased and paid himself.

There hath been no audit from Hawkyns, as the auditor saith, this two years; there hath been neither cordage nor canvas with other things not entered into the Queen's Majesty's books, as Hawkyns saith, this year; nor prices made to the Queen's Majesty; but he hath paid all by imprest,[3] which was never wont to be the use, but to enter all commodities as they were bought and received.

There is one Captain Thornton, of Ireland, who is now here, saith that he hath the keeping of one of her Majesty's ships in Ireland [4] which Hawkyns is bound to maintain. He hath divers times sent him ropes made of old stuff, both cables and small ropes, as he will take his oath. The Lord Deputy

[1] MS. Tayle. [2] MS. Cockyn. See *post*, p. 250.
[3] *I.e.* by fixed official rates.
[4] Probably the Handmaid. (See *post*, p. 313.)

will witness the same, for Thornton did never receive any ropes but he did show them to the Lord Deputy, and yet he priced them to her Majesty at 19*s.* the hundred, which stood not him in 12*s.* at most.

It is not good that any subject's ships should lie against Deptford, but only her Majesty's ships. It hath been used but of late years, the cause why may be declared.

It is not good that her Majesty's shipwrights shall keep any timber yard or build any ships for merchants or for any nobleman without her Majesty's leave, because they have commission from her Majesty to take up timber, and then to build other men's ships therewith.

If it be your Majesty's pleasure that I shall provide from henceforth those things of provision for your Highness's navy, according to my Letters Patent, that it may please your Majesty there may be a survey of all your Majesty's storehouses by men of knowledge, that there may be no old nor rotten stuff therein. And then hereafter should be laid to my charge that I did put them in.[1]

It is not good that any of her Majesty's officers which hath charge of her Majesty's ships should have any shipping of their own, nor yet be no builders of ships, nor be no merchant nor partner with any merchant, because they are appointed by her Majesty to see that all commodities shall be perfect and good which shall be bought for her Majesty's navy. And then are they appointed to

[1] Passages of this kind, revealing the interested motives of the authors, are common to all or nearly all the documents containing accusations against Hawkyns. As evidence against him they are of little or no value, while they certainly suggest, in almost every case, that he had put a stop to some extortionate or dishonest practice of the accuser, by which he had been enriching himself at the expense of the navy.

[fix][1] a reasonable price between her Majesty and the merchant, which they will scarce do if the goods be their own.

And these things Mr. Hawkyns did of himself! Must not he needs be a beggar?

[VII]

Report of the Chief Shipwrights

[**S.P. Dom. cciv. 20.**—Signed.]

12 October, 1587.

Whereas, Right Honourable, it hath been given us in charge by the Right Honourable Lord Treasurer, with the consent and good liking of your lordship, that we should survey and examine the state of her Majesty's navy in such manner as we will answer it upon our allegiance, we have, therefore, sequestered all fear or whatsoever, setting before us the testimony of a good conscience, and so, accordingly to our skill, experience and knowledge, we have set down our opinion of the same, presenting it to your good lordship as to our chief lord and patron, that by the good acceptation thereof such care may be had and order accordingly taken that all doubts and dangers in good time may be prevented; anything contained therein your lordship's better discretion is to be used notwithstanding.

Ships Lying at Chatham:

The Elizabeth Jonas

The same ship as she is very old, and hath been long from the seas, we find her greatly decayed in her timbers, trenails,[2] and part of her beams,

[1] MS. is torn here.

[2] MS. Tronaylls.

specially in the quarters before and abaft, besides such timbers as were cut in sunder in divers parts and pieced for twelve years past, whereby we are not otherwise to judge of the same ship but to be of a small continuance, and high time to reform such imperfections for preventing the worst. Nevertheless, in considering her well building and the strength now added to the same of late, we are in good hope that upon a necessity she may answer any sudden service if it be required, but much fitter for the summer season than for the winter, if it may so come to pass.

The Triumph

The same ship we find much decayed in the timbers, but most in the quarters, yet not like unto the Elizabeth Jonas; notwithstanding she cannot be of any long continuance except these imperfections be remedied. Nevertheless, in considering her strong building, with a little addition to the same, it bringeth us in good hope that she may answer any sudden service that may be required, specially for the summer season.

The White Bear

The same ship we find many decayed timbers in her, especially before, in such number as breedeth some great suspicion of her long continuance, and therefore great cause to know the same in time to prevent dangers. Nevertheless, in considering what is added of late for her strength, it maketh us in good hope for any present service, specially for the summer season.

The Victory

The same ship, at her last being in the dock, many imperfect timbers were discovered, which

could not be removed without a great charge; but the same was strengthened for the time, which bringeth us in good hope that she may answer any present service, yet of no long continuance.

The Mary Rose

The same ship being very old, we find the great part of the timbers decayed, passing all the rest of the ship; and therefore we doubt her state dangerous, specially for any winter service, and for augmenting her strength there cannot much more be done, and being no perfect mould and so near worn, she is not to be builded upon, but rather discontinued.

The Bonaventure

The same ship we find to have divers imperfections and weakness growing of the decayed timbers, stern-post, and one of the fashion-pieces,[1] as also under the sheathing,[2] which cannot be well remedied without dry docking. Notwithstanding, for the present necessity it is determined that some part of her weakness shall be holpen until better opportunity may be had to do the same to better perfection.

The Dreadnought

The same ship we find by her decayed stern and many imperfect timbers, clamps, footwales, trenails, &c., that no less weakness appeareth to be in her than was reported, which cannot be well remedied

[1] MS. Fasshyon. 'They are those two timbers which describe the breadth of the ship at the stern, and are the outermost timbers of the stern, and on each side thereof.' (Boteler, *Sea Dialogues*, p. 126.)

[2] MS. Shething. Hawkyns had introduced a sheathing of elm boards, nailed over a felt of hair and tar.

to any purpose without dry docking. Nevertheless so much shall be done as may bring us in hope of the service for the present, omitting the rest until time better serveth. But that which for the most part is to be done is to be known again[1] at her docking.

The Swiftsure

The same ship we find great imperfections in, the timbers, footwales, and trenails not far unlike the Dreadnought, so that her long being from the sea causeth some doubt of her strength. Therefore somewhat shall be done to her to bring us in better hope of her service, until she may be further dealt with as her state requireth.

The Antelope

The same ship, although she hath been lately builded above water, yet is she a very old bottom, which in short time will require to be new builded. Nevertheless she is in sufficient state for the present service.

The Aid

The same ship being lately repaired above the water, yet is her bottom old, and being sheathed will in short time require a farther charge. Nevertheless her present state is in sufficient order for any sudden service.

The Swallow

The same ship is a very old bottom and will in short time require a charge, nevertheless in good state for any present service.

[1] MS. Agens (? against).

The Bull

The same ship we find greatly decayed in the timbers ; yet, being lately bound, proveth as yet well at the seas, and therefore thought fit for the present service. Nevertheless her continuance is not long to be looked for, and being so far worn, is not meet to be any more builded upon, but rather another in her place.

The Revenge

The same ship being lately repaired in the dock is in sufficient state to answer any sudden service, notwithstanding that repairing extended not to a new making. Therefore her continuance is thought the less time.

The Lion

The same ship being new builded 4 or 5 years past is in good state for present service.

The Ark Royal

The same ship having many things to perfect and finish, had many hands to do the same, so may she be in good time answerable for any service.

The Vanguard

The same ship in sufficient state for the sudden service with a little caulking.

The Rainbow

The same ship in good state, her masts being set.

The Merlin

This pinnace is in good readiness for the present service.

SHIPS LYING AT PORTSMOUTH,
AS ALSO SUCH AS BE AT THE SEAS:

The Hope

The same ship is well known unto us to be of an ancient bottom and very near worn, and oftentimes hath been repaired, and, therefore, of no long continuance. Nevertheless in state serviceable, to our knowledge.

The Nonpareil

The same ship lately new builded, and therefore may answer any sudden service.

The Foresight

The same ship, now being in the narrow seas, will in short time require to be reformed of her weakness for her better continuance, though sufficient for a time.

The Tiger

The same ship, now at the seas, being lately well repaired, is answerable for the present service, and is thought to be of a reasonable continuance.

The Scout

The same bark, now at the seas, being new builded at the first with the Revenge, will require

in short time some reformations, but for the present she is serviceable.

The Achates

This bark was builded with the Dreadnought and hath many imperfect timbers, and therefore in short space will require to be reformed, though sufficient for the present service.

Seven New Pinnaces

The pinnaces lately new builded, and most of them at the seas, are answerable for the present service.

The Galley Eleanor[1]

This galley, standing in a dry dock, is in some decay, and may be holpen, upon a necessity, to answer any service if it be thought good. She is not of long continuance.

The George, a hoy

The same hoy, being lately sheathed and repaired, being continually used, may be serviceable for a reasonable time, with good usage.

Three Lighters

The three lighters, the one being of[2] an old ship, is sore decayed, and in dangerous state to take in any charge of ordnance; the other two, being smaller, are used for that purpose.

[1] After her rebuilding in 1584 she was usually known as the Bonavolia. For the significance of the name see *post*, p. 283.

[2] MS. Off.

Boats, Cocks, and Skiffs

These ship's boats, cocks, and skiffs are in reasonable good state for the service, yet by reason of their continual occupying and loss at the seas, they are daily to be renewed.

Thus have we, Right Honourable, faithfully and simply, according to our knowledge, set down in the premises the state of her Majesty's navy as briefly as we may, being ready at your lordship's pleasure to make a reason thereof at any time when we shall be required. The charge is great and the matter weighty, and many things obscure therein. Therefore a dangerous thing it is to build a stability upon any one man's warrantize,[1] neither think it we expedient that your lordship should take hold or depend upon our judgments, farther than the same may be confirmed by the view and report of expert and faithful men, such as may be made choice of for so good a purpose. So shall your lordship be the better satisfied, and the rumour appeased, and ourselves purged of that which is surmised of us, that our special causes should move us to mislike of the state of the navy; as first, because we should be the better set a work and our servants; secondly [that] we do it of a envious mind; lastly [that] we seek to worry Mr. Hawkyns, and so to have it at liberty again, to make havoc of all things as it was before. These points be soon answered, for it is far from our thoughts, as God the Father of all hearts doth know, to whose provident protection we leave your good lordship.

Your honours to command,

PETER PETT.

MATHEW BAKER.

[1] MS. 'warrantysse.'

VIII.

Sir William Wynter's Report on a Difference between Hawkyns and Pett[1]

WILLIAM WYNTER TO BURGHLEY

[**S.P. Dom. cciv. 21.**—Signed and addressed.]

After my duty in humble manner remembered unto your good lordship, it may please you to wit that there was lately committed to me to end a controversy for matters of reckoning between Mr. Hawkyns and Peter Pett. I heard Mr. Pett at large, and saw his demands, whereupon I dealt with Mr. Hawkyns, and heard the reasons which he made, and considered and perused all the course of their accounts; wherein I could not perceive but that Mr. Hawkyns had dealt well with him, and ready to come to an end. Whereupon I made Peter Pett to know how I did understand the account between them, after which time he came no more to me about that cause. And for that it seemed to me that he was unwilling I should proceed to the ending of it, I did therefore give it over, for had I gone through with it I think I should have pleased neither of them. True it is that Mr. Hawkyns always did desire to have an end of it. And thus most humbly taking my leave I rest, beseeching God for the continuing of your honourable estate, and to send you health. Written from Woolwich the 12th of October, 1587.

Your honourable lordship's
Ever to command,
W. WYNTER.

[1] See *post*, p. 250.

IX.

Hawkyns's Answer with his Scheme of Naval Defence

JOHN HAWKYNS TO BURGHLEY

[**S.P. Dom. ccv. 22.**—Holograph. Addressed.]

My bounden duty humbly remembered unto your good lordship, I have herewith sent in brief note of the charge of those ships which I think fit to perform the offer which I make, and the service which is to be done I note in the end of the estimate.

Sundry of these ships I have chosen because they are disabled; howbeit I have no doubt but this service shall be well performed by them, and continue many years hereafter to do the like service with the favour of God.

I have endeavoured myself since I came to be an Officer to better the state of the navy, and when peaceable time was I did, with the help of my fellows, procure from your lordship the help of that money which was spared out of the Ordinary Warrant to better the state of the office; and when anything was paid into this office for any purpose that might be performed with a less sum, the same overplus hath not been vainly or carelessly spent, but employed to necessary purposes, as here following I note:

1. The provisions of cordage and canvas are trebled in value.

2. There are increased and reformed 100 great anchors.

3. The pulleys and sheaves[1] of brass have been made in effect all new, which were decayed by long lying.

[1] MS. 'shyvers.'

4. Great charges hath been spent in reforming the sails.

5. The hulls of the ships have in effect been all dry docked and repaired.

6. All the boats and pinnaces thoroughly new made.

7. Storehouses, forges, and wharves in all places much augmented, with a number of many other good things done wherewith I will not trouble your lordship.

For all which service (which 40,000*l.* would hardly perform) there hath been no special warrant, saving three which were for the repairing of the Bonaventure and Foresight, the Lion and the Nonpareil, which amounted to 4,600*l.*, but performed with husbandry, providence, and that which hath been spared out of the Ordinary Warrant of 5,714*l.* yearly.

For my own part I have lived in a very mean estate since I came to be an Officer, neither have I vainly or superfluously consumed her Majesty's treasure or mine own substance, but ever been diligently and carefully occupied to prepare for the danger to come. And whatsoever hath been or is maliciously spoken of me, I doubt not but your lordship's wisdom is such that ye may discern and judge of my fidelity, of which her Majesty and your lordship have had long trial. And hereafter I will speak little in mine own behalf, but endeavour myself with my ability and knowledge to prevent the malice of our enemies, and lay aside the vanity of the defending of every malicious report.

If this shall take effect at any time hereafter,[1] it were fit that there were provision of victual ready

[1] This refers to his offer to undertake the defence of the realm with a small permanent squadron on the Western station. See next document.

at the Isle of Wight, at Weymouth, at Dartmouth, at Plymouth, and at Falmouth, which would relieve the ships wheresoever they shall have occasion to stop, and so would there not be such consumption of cask in this place alone, but would greatly help that provision.

I do send herewith a form of a letter[1] which I humbly desire may come from your lordship and my Lord Admiral to the Officers of the Navy, to take some course for the ending of the bargain at Christmas next. Which end I do not desire, that her Majesty should hereafter be the worst served, but rather the better. For when I shall be free, I shall the better be able to speak my mind boldly in her Majesty's behalf, but now I am choked[2] with that they say, I speak for mine own profit. But your lordship shall be most assured by this my faithful promise before God and your lordship, that I will perform the duty of a faithful, trusty, and loving servant to her Majesty with the help of God, and so wishing your good lordship health and happiness, I humbly take my leave. From London, the 13th of November, 1587.

Your honourable lordship's
Humbly to command,
JOHN HAWKYNS.

FIRST ENCLOSURE

Hawkyns's Scheme of Naval Defence

[**S.P. Dom. ccv. 22 I.**—Endorsed by Burghley 'not accepted.']

November 13, 1587.

A proportion of seven great-ships of her Majesty's and divers other ships and pinnaces to be set forth

[1] See p. 238. [2] MS. Chockyd or checkyd.

in warlike order, to lie in the west parts for the defence of the realm. As followeth:

Ships of Her Majesty's

The Victory	400
The Mary Rose . . .	250
The Bonaventure . . .	250
The Hope	250
The Nonpareil . . .	250
The Dreadnought . . .	180
The Rainbow . . .	250
The Tramontana . . .	70
The Advice	35
The Trust	20
The Makeshift . . .	35
	1,990 men.

Ships at Plymouth

200	The Griffin . . .	100
180	The Bark Talbot . .	80
180	The Hope . . .	70
150	The Bark Bond . .	60
150	The Bark Bonner . .	60
80	The Unity . . .	40
940 tons.		410 men.

Prest and Conduct

	£	s.	d.
For the prest and conduct of 1,800 sailors at 7*s.* per man, with presting charges	630	0	0
For the prest and conduct of 400 gunners and soldiers at 2*s.* 6*d.* per man	50	0	0

Wages

For harbour wages of 600 men, 7 days at 2*s.* 6*d.* per man . . .	75	0	0

	£	s.	d.
For sea wages of 2,400 men for three months, at 42*s.* per man, diets, dead shares, and rewards in the same accounted	5,040	0	0

Sea Store

For sea store of the said ships accounting them in all, but for 12 ships, after the rate of 60*l.* every ship . .	720	0	0

Conduct in Discharge

For conduct in discharge of 1,800 sailors, at 6*s.* every man . . .	540	0	0
For conduct in discharge of 400 gunners and soldiers, at 12*d.* every man	20	0	0

Tonnage

For tonnage[1] of the 6 ships for three months	141	0	0
Sum .	7,216	0	0

Victualling

Harbour Victuals.

For harbour victuals of 600 men for 7 days, at 3*s.* 6*d.* per man . .	105	0	0

Sea Victual.

For sea victual of 2,400 men for 3 months, at 49*s.* every man . .	5,880	0	0

[1] *I.e.* for chartering the six ships at Plymouth which were most of them, if not all, his own or his partners'.

Transportation

	£	s.	d.
For transportation of the said victuals	100	0	0
Sum .	6,085	0	0

[*Total Cost*]

	£	s.	d.
John Hawkyns . .	7,216	0	0
James Quarles[1] . .	6,085	0	0
Total .	13,301	0	0

With this power I will (with God's help) defend and forbid the army to land or take succour of any port in the West Country. If they pass through the Channel towards the Narrow Seas I will accompany them and disturb them. If they go for Ireland or Scotland, I will go to them, so, as I hope, few of them shall return in peace.

SECOND ENCLOSURE

Form of Letter proposed by Hawkyns to procure the rescission of his Contract

LORD BURGHLEY TO [THE OFFICERS OF THE NAVY]

[S.P. Dom. ccv. 71.]

After my very hearty commendations; whereas John Hawkyns, Treasurer of the Navy, upon the bargain offered by him in July 1585, for the sum of 5,714*l.* 2*s.* 2*d.* yearly, growing upon the old Ordinary Warrant did undertake to keep in order of service

[1] Surveyor of the Victuals, *vice* Edward Baeshe, deceased.

her Majesty's navy then being, to dry dock and new make them as need should require, to moor them in harbour, to pay the wages of shipkeepers, clerks, and gunners, and to repair the storehouses and wharves at Chatham, Deptford, Woolwich, and Portsmouth, with sundry other charges incident to the same which were accustomed to be borne upon that ordinary ; I do understand by your letter that the said John Hawkyns hath performed the said office, and hath docked and repaired divers of the ships according to that bargain, moored the ships, paid the shipkeepers, and such other things as appertained to that Ordinary. Now, because the navy is greatly increased, and that these times of service require sundry and often trimmings of the ships, and that also in the winter time, whereby charge doth greatly increase, the accounts hereby do grow so intricate as he is not able to continue the said office.

Therefore, in consideration of the premises, and for the better service of her Majesty, and upon his humble petition to her Highness, I think it fit that ye do consider of his accounts to end at Christmas next, and that ye deal with him according to that bargain, as in equity and conscience ye shall think reason ; and thenceforth to husbandry her Majesty's charge, as shall become faithful servants and officers, until it shall be her Highness's pleasure to take any other way for the ordering of the same.

X.

Certificate in Hawkyns's favour by the Surveyor of the Ships and the Controller

SIR WILLIAM WYNTER AND HOLSTOK TO BURGHLEY.

[**ccvi. 15.**—Signed. Addressed.]

Our duty in humble manner remembered unto your good lordship: According to your honour's commandment by your letter bearing date the 7th of this present, we have considered upon the articles which were set down in the offer made by Mr. Hawkyns for the maintenance of the navy in anno 1585, being the first time of the said offer. We have ever since been careful to see that performed which we thought fit to be observed by Mr. Hawkyns, and have from time to time compared his allowances with the equity of the conditions contained in that bargain, wherein we have used our best circumspection to deal indifferently between her Majesty and him; certifying your lordship hereby, that he hath carefully performed the conditions of that offer in such sort as we have no cause to compain of him, but are thoroughly persuaded in our conscience that he hath, for the time since he took that bargain, expended a far greater sum in carpentry upon her Majesty's ships than he hath had any way allowance for.

We have in the foot of this letter noted unto your lordship divers ships that have been repaired in dry docks and ships new made since the time of the bargain, besides the ordinary reparations of the ships and boats in harbour, to the end your lordship may consider and judge that the money disbursed by her Highness hath been well employed.

And as concerning the mooring of the ships in harbour, the payment of shipkeepers, clerks, gunners, watchmen, and rents, and the reparation of store-houses and wharves, we find no want, but that they have been paid and sufficiently done by him, with such other ordinary matters as are contained in his bargain. And so, wishing your lordship all honour and health, we humbly take our leave. From Tower-hill,[1] the 9th day of December, 1587.

Ships repaired in dry dock and new made since April 1585 :

The Hope repaired in Deptford Dock.
The Elizabeth Jonas in Woolwich Dock.
The George at Deptford.
The Bear in Woolwich Dock.
The Aid in Deptford Dock.
The Revenge in Woolwich Dock.
The Triumph repaired in Woolwich Dock.
The Antelope in Deptford Dock.
The Victory in Deptford Dock.
The Swallow in Deptford Dock.
The Merlin in Deptford Dock.
The Tiger all new.

The Hope put in very good order with great charge at Portsmouth.

Your honourable lordships ever to command,

W. Wynter.
William Holstok.

[1] It was here the Admiralty office was fixed by the original order of Henry VIII.

1587 *Articles exhibited against Mr. John Hawkyns* [1]

[Lansdowne MS. lii. Art. 43.]

Articles of discovery of the unjust mind and deceitful dealing of John Hawkyns

About August anno 1583 the charge of the galleon Leicester, being returned from Captain Fenton his overthrown voyage, was committed unto me by my Lord the Earl of Leicester.

By reason of that service I had many occasions of conference with Sir William Wynter and Mr. Hawkyns.

It pleased Sir William to like so well of me that he admitted me to talk with him oftentimes by his bedside many and sundry mornings, and invited me to his table; and, amongst the rest of his discourses —of his education, his knowledge of my Lord from infancy, his special respect of my said Lord's favour, and such like—he discovered unto me such matters as had passed between Mr. Hawkyns and the rest of the Officers, which for brevity I leave to recite. Only this much I note, that more cannot be uttered by my tongue to set forth the baseness of the said Mr. Hawkyns in birth, mind, and manners, or to foretell his intent and pretended deceit which are now apparent than by the said Sir William and others of that part was to me declared.

After I had some understanding of the matter by the said Sir William, Matthew Baker the master shipwright, and others, as occasion served me to resort to Mr. Hawkyns or to be in his company in Deptford yard (where my business then lay, my said

[1] Endorsement.

Lord's ship lying there), I questioned or objected some matters concerning the said cause upon purpose to inform myself of the truth, never discovering my intelligencers; but by the touch and substance of the conceit I gather he knew from whence they did spring. But say I what I could, or object what I would, he would seem to make such a sound answer or avoidance of the matter, and would with such a grace and face maintain his matter, that he made me sometimes think that I had mistaken that which now I know I perfectly knew.

But notwithstanding that, his foresaid cunning, I found by observance that he observed me, and ever after made show unto me, and many times invited me to his table and showed himself very willing to resolve me in anything I questioned or condoned of, saying that whosoever had informed me of any such matter if I would know the truth he would satisfy me therein. I showed myself willing and heard from time to time what he could say, but never found any other thing in him but shows and shadows without any substance.

Amongst many matters that were between us talked upon, as the botching[1] of the ships and deceiving the Queen in his professed savings; the general clamours of numbers of people against him whose living they said he and his wife did take away; the parts of ships' adventures and purchases which he had and made; the abuse committed in the storehouse by him and some others by buying cordage and canvas at one price, and thrusting it into the storehouse by turns at higher prices; the taking of timber by commission and employing it to his own private buildings and profits by selling it, converting it into sugar chests, or repairing his own and other men's ships. One special matter I remember that I

[1] MS. 'boutchinge.'

certified him I heard of, which was that he made a great gain of the moorings: 'at the least,' said I, 'by certain report not less than 600*l.* per annum.' His answer was thereunto that he would deal plainly with me therein, and that my eyes should be witnesses of the truth therein; and thereupon went to his desk and took out a note wherein was mentioned how much was shared out thereof to his fellow Officers and others, as I well remember Mr. Allen [1] was therein set down 60*l.*, the rest some 40*l.*, some 50*l.* As to the rest of the matters, he maintained his botching and culvertailing of pieces,[2] as he termed it, but ever passed over his deceiving the Queen by putting Ordinary to Extraordinary; and as I well remember he had a pretty colour for it, saying 'You know the Officers are not my friends, neither will the Lord Treasurer do anything for me. How can I do so, or have anything allowed that should or ought not to be?'

The buying into the storehouse he maintained as necessary. 'For that,' said he, 'we cannot get any money of the Lord Treasurer for provisions, and if,' said he, 'we have any money, had we not as good lay it out and gain by it, as the merchants should. And it may be,' said he, 'if we did not, we should not have it when we would.' But I say that albeit this colourable answer served then to stop my further understanding of the matter, I thought it hard [that] the Officers that should be surveyors for her Majesty should be purveyors and merchants themselves to make their own price and payment without controlment. But I remember Sir William Wynter, when

[1] Probably Thomas Alleyn, his old enemy. See note, p. 216.

[2] The MS. has 'culverteyning.' The word is etymologically the same as 'dovetailing,' from 'culver' a dove. The writer apparently did not know the word, and mistook or had forgotten what Hawkyns said.

I, in talk with him upon those matters, imputed it for a fault, he protested that he never dealt that way; but whether he shared with Mr. Borough or Mr. Holstock he did not tell me. And now I know that Mr. Hawkyns had that 1,700*l.* which was saved of the Warrant Dormant to supply that purpose, which he hath had six years, and therein deceived her Majesty greatly and abused the Lord Treasurer most unjustly.

As to the general exclamations on taking the livings of the poor, he made no account of that objection, and as to the part of the ships and purchases, he ever referred them to his wife, saying, 'My wife hath purchased a little thing. I meddle not with it. I desire,' said he, 'but to perform my service, and to go away but with as much as I brought with me.' I asked what it might be, and he answered that when his brother and he parted at Plymouth their stocks were 20,000*l.*; but since [then] within this two months upon occasion I took to tell him amongst other things at his request, that I had heard that he had wept to her Majesty and said he was indebted, which I said I marvelled to hear, considering he told me once that his state was 10,000*l.* 'Nay,' said he, 'I do not remember I said so, but my state was 11,000*l.* I mean not in money,' said he, 'but in land and state; and as for weeping to her Majesty, I did it not, nor said any such matter.'[1]

After that, upon some occasion of talk with Sir William Wynter, I told him what I heard Mr. Hawkyns report of his state as aforesaid. His

[1] In margin, opposite this paragraph, is written :—'He meaneth by colour of that 11,000*l.* to carry away 40,000*l.* (less than which he cannot be worth, except he have paid very large fees which in truth is to be doubted), for that such a cunning master of his art as he is, being worth 40,000*l.*, will give 20,[000]*l.* of it to save the other and his life also.'

answer was, 'What a dissembling knave is that! When he was hurt in the Strand, and made his will, he was not able to give 500*l.*' That being true, it is to be noted that all that he is now worth and that which he hath wasted hath been drawn by deceit from her Majesty.[1]

The said Sir William dining at Mr. Customer Smythe's,[2] my father and I being in company, upon occasion of talk concerning Mr. Hawkyns, he uttered that when the bargain of the Ordinary was entered into, Mr. Hawkyns persuaded the shipwrights thereunto by the reciting of a tale of one that undertook in seven years to make an ass to speak. What his meaning might be therein I leave it to the construction of the wise; but in reason I gather it could not be good, as the experience of his dealing doth now discover.

To conclude upon these matters, albeit that Mr. Hawkyns had found a fault in Sir William and the rest, and maintained the same by their books, yet they seemed to me to have a better answer than Mr. Hawkyns can now make[3]; and that induced me rather to lean to their side than to Mr. Hawkyns; for they said they kept the navy sufficient, and for the matters that were surcharged upon James Humfrye and such like, Sir William told me they were but small matters, and so entered because they knew not how to have allowance of

[1] It is not clear whether or not the last words of the paragraph (from 'that being true') are intended to be Wynter's. The incident referred to is his having been stabbed by an assassin in mistake for Sir Christopher Hatton. The will, of course, may only have applied to his personalty, the land being settled, and possibly his ships as well.

[2] Thomas Smythe, customer of the Port of London.

[3] This seems to imply that Hawkyns had discovered and proved some irregularities in Wynter's accounts, which may explain his hostility, but nothing further has been discovered regarding the matter.

some extraordinary charges which happened in their service, and as it seemeth that matter never came to any restitution or reformation. But Mr. Hawkyns that has come to his place and credit by way of accusation, and now to have committed the like and greater offences, and not to regard the sufficiency of the defence of her Majesty and realm, and having deceived in a far greater quantity and observed no part of his professed service and loyalty, is by law, reason, and justice in her Majesty's mercy, both for life, lands, and goods; whom I beseech the Lord to direct to execute condign punishment upon him, to the terror of all such pretending purposes of deceit and detriment of her Majesty and commonwealth.

As to my particular knowledge of the unjust mind and indirect dealings of the said Mr. Hawkyns, this much I can discover of my own knowledge: That after my Lord's said ship was finished and departed in the voyage to St. Domingo and Cartagena with Sir F. Drake, there being certain remains left in a storehouse, which he had lent me, as a cable which was returned from Espirito Santo[1] and overdried, certain fowlers and chambers, and other necessaries which were refused as not serviceable, he by a colour having need to use that storehouse broke open the door and took all away. I hearing of it came to him to know the reason. He told me that the ship with all furniture was put into the voyage, and that these remains did belong to Sir F. Drake. I answered that they were left as unnecessary and that I had moved my Lord for warrant to

[1] MS. 'Sperto S^to.' Fenton's last effort on his disastrous voyage of 1582 had been to trade at Espirito Santo—now Victoria—with the Brazilian Portuguese. He was driven out of it by a Spanish squadron, and returned home. Luke Ward in his narrative (see in Hakluyt) calls the place Santos, but the latitude given by William Hawkyns is that of Espirito Santo Bay $15\frac{1}{3}°$.

make sale of them. 'Tush!' said he, 'you have not nor need not acquaint my Lord withal. They belong to Sir Fr. Drake, and if you will content yourself and hold your peace I will give you 20 marks.' I being out of possession of the goods and knowing not how to remedy it, accepted his offer and certified my Lord thereof, who answered he would call him in question for that and other matters following.

I agreed with him for repairing of my Lord's said ship for 250*l.*, as under his own hand I have it extant; 200*l.* thereof he had, the other 50*l.* remained. By colour thereof he framed a note of the charge to be 375*l.* for the said ship; and, notwithstanding the receipt of my Lord's 200*l.*, he put to her Majesty's account of Sir F. Drake's said Domingo voyage 375*l.* He hath made the charges of the ship to be in that account about 1,200*l.*, and therein also put the charge of two other of her Majesty's ships which should have been done upon his Ordinary under the colour of the Bonaventure, the Aid, and the Sea Dragon, which were then repaired in Woolwich upon that account. His defrayments in that account are by him set down by a general account to be 13,478*l.*, wherein if it were duly examined cannot be less than 5,000*l.* deceit, besides such other indirect profits as he had out of that account by being a Commissioner therein, by taking many things at their own prices and he and others selling them to their own use; the like course whereof he would have entered also into, if some whom he moved therein would have given way to him or been of his disposition, in the Carrack account, which by such means would have come to as good a reckoning as the foresaid account did come unto. This being certified unto my said Lord with other his abuses as aforesaid, his Lordship purposed to enter into the discovery of them, and

to that end according to my information and request directed his letter to Sir William Wynter for Mr. Hawkyns's particular account of that voyage and commanded me by his letter to hearken unto and to have an eye to those matters. But so it fell out that Sir William Wynter was to put into her Majesty's navy his ship called the Sea Dragon in place of the Tiger, which since is received[1]; so that Mr. Hawkyns's particular account, which Sir William Wynter before had told me he had, could not be found, and then I was referred over to Jonas Bodenham,[2] and from him to Mr. Hawkyns, and so could never get it, and by that reason nothing was or is as yet done therein.

I was also an eyewitness of a great abuse committed in the storehouse by the said Mr. Hawkyns, being before informed by Honnyngborn,[3] clerk under Mr. Baker of the said storehouse, that Cletherell[4] had sent down a lighter of cordage a great part whereof was of Ducat[5] hemp as he informed, and said he saw the bill of prices in the boy's hand that came with the lighter, whereof the price was 15*s.* per coil (?), and that after it was put into the storehouse with the Muscovy complement

[1] If this was so, the Sea Dragon must have taken the name as well as the place of the Tiger, for the Tiger appears in the lists of 1588, and the Sea Dragon does not. The explanation probably is to be found in Burghley's note, 'The New Tiger' (see p. 271), the vessel in that list being really the Sea Dragon re-named.

[2] MS. Bodnam.

[3] Probably Peter Honnyngbourn, Deputy Clerk of her Majesty's store. See his report on stores issued and received at the Deptford storehouse in 1587 (*S.P. Dom.* ccxii. 48), and *supra*, p. 221.

[4] Alleyn calls this man Cletherowe. See *supra*, p. 221.

[5] Or 'Durat.' The origin of this name is doubtful. Alleyn says the cordage in question was made in Lyme and Boston. See *supra*, p. 222. The present writer also seems to identify it with Lyme and Boston cordage. See *infra*, p. 255.

and the said Honnyngborn did show me and others, which will justify it, that the said Duraten [1] cordage was new tallied and termed Danzig, bought of Cokayne,[2] by which it appeareth, viz., he coloured the kind, so in all reason he altered the price to the value of the Muscovy cordage; and Mr. Alleyn told me he can justify he gained in the price of the said Muscovy cordage also, which his books must manifest.

About April last Mr. Hawkyns and Mr. Pett fell at variance upon accounts, and he knowing that I had been and hearing that I was an observer of Mr. Hawkyns's dealings made means to confer with me, whose acquaintance I as willingly embraced as he required mine. Our meeting was at Philip Elize's[3] chamber in Deptford Yard. He is one of Sir William Wynter's clerks. The said Mr. Pett discoursed with me and discovered many things which Mr. Baker and others had told me, but he had the particular proofs, which seeing I liked exceedingly, hoping now to lay open my long wished discovery of his abuses and deceits aforesaid.

Not long after I met Sir William Wynter and Mr. Hawkyns walking in Greenwich Court. Mr. Hawkyns came to me and challenged me that I was a sifter and searcher after him. I answered I did not sift him, but said if any would tell me anything either of him or any other that I would not stop mine ears; and said I, 'Because you charge me so hardly. If it be false I hear of you it is pity of their lives. If true it is pity that your head standeth upon your shoulders.' His answer was that all was

[1] *Sic.*

[2] MS. 'Cokine.' William Cokayne, merchant, of London; see his petition for payment for cables and cordage delivered into her Majesty's stores (*S.P. Dom.* ccxix. 54).

[3] This name is variously spelt. See *ante*, p. 47.

false, and that if I would come home to him he would resolve me of anything. Sir William said nothing, at which I marvelled, and by it and other their familiarities, and putting in of his ship, as also for that my Lord Admiral told me he had made them as fast as buckle and girdle, I suspected them to be reconciled and objected the same to Sir William Wynter's said man, Philip Elize, who answered that upon his life it was not so; 'for,' said he, 'you know how many ways my master hath sought against him and could never prevail, and therefore he closeth with him to catch him at a sure advantage and get but his accounts to be examined, and it shall appear the charge to be greater than in my master's time, and the state of the navy by many degrees worse, and if you can bring it to pass I warrant you my master will show himself.' [1]

But notwithstanding that and Sir William's own deliveries unto me aforesaid, and his wonderful words passed against Mr. Hawkyns, yet it doth appear that they are become friends for they have of late received a pretty purchase of 5,000*l.* brought in by Mr. Hawkyns's base son, who was sent with letters of advice to Sir Fra. Drake towards Cadiz and meeting prize by the way returned to Plymouth with the prize which is shared: 50 chests of sugar, 2 tons of Brazil [wood] to Sir William Wynter, 180 chests [of sugar and] 10 tons Brazil to Mr. Hawkyns: to his said son 36 chests, and the rest they know best where it is bestowed. This being by them so received, and by a very faint colour of the pinnace being Sir William Wynter's, the same being employed in her Majesty's service, and the same being so shared, it standeth to reason to think they are united.[2]

Also I have seen and read a letter of the said

[1] Cf. p. 232. [2] See p. 102 *n.*

Sir William directed to Mr. Baker when he was employed to survey her Majesty's ships at Plymouth, wherein he requested all favour and friendship for the said Mr. Hawkyns.

Also Mr. Borough, that made a book against Mr. Hawkyns and procured it to be delivered to her Majesty, since their being together at sea,[1] where the voice goeth they shared good matter and might have done great service which was by them omitted, they are grown great friends, and one maintaineth another's cause to the uttermost. So that now, if those that mean truly to their prince and country, and will maintain their matter justly without alteration or corruption may not be heard and countenanced (the said persons being all stopped), none will ever intermeddle to do any service therein, whereby her Majesty shall not only be further deceived of her treasure, but also the state of the navy and realm be more endangered.

It may be objected that albeit all the said matters be true and the said Mr. Hawkyns be to be further charged, yet the time serveth not now for trial of such causes. And also that her Majesty is so merciful, that without very manifest proof she will not call any of her officers in question. To which for answer I say, that the time never served better to punish such an offender than now, when such causes are in hand, and the companies of that vein

[1] It is not known what this refers to. There seems no record of Hawkyns and Borough being together in command of an independent squadron. Borough, however, may have been Hawkyns's Vice-Admiral during his cruise in the autumn of 1586, of which there is no English record, though it is constantly mentioned in Spanish intelligence. (See Spanish Calendar, 1580–1586, pp. 633–77 *passim*.) Possibly, it was to this occasion that Borough referred in his protest to Drake, when he said he had been serving as Vice-Admiral at the Seas to the Lord Admiral. See *supra*, p. 125.

assembled together, that it might appear unto them all and terrify every one from doing or committing the like ; and the time being as it is, in reason he is not to be trusted, his former Spanish familiarity remembered,[1] his tale of the ass, and the manifest deceit and decaying of her Majesty's navy respected, which being considered the time serveth most fittest. And if it be said it is not convenient to question upon the matter for discovering the imperfections, I answer also that such due trial as may be had and used before her Majesty's Council can make no great overture, and for the matter it is too common already, 250 men having been of late employed in that service, and seeing their state, and using the daily company of 3 or 4 thousand mariners, who neither do nor will hold their tongues from talking of that which they see in that which concerneth their lives. And to the calling him in question without proof, I said Sir William Wynter's report is reason enough to call him in question, who hath said to two several persons, who will justify the same, that the officers and he have given him 1,000*l.* per annum more than her Majesty's allowance ; and being asked how he could answer it said he would certify her Majesty thereof and yield his reason for the same. And as for other and further direct proof of such matters as he is charged withal, his books of necessity must be perused, and that is all the trouble I wish him until by his own books he may be condemned, which of necessity must needs be, and is no other matter or manner then he had or used against the Officers himself, and which I desire to have or use in no other manner then before

[1] This probably refers to his pretended intrigues with the Spanish Ambassador, in order, under colour of being ready to desert to Philip II., to get redress for his treatment at San Juan de Ulua.

Sir Walter Mildmay[1] and Mr. Secretary Walsyngham, her Majesty's most honourable and experienced counsellors in these causes. The said Commissioners having authority to call to deliver their knowledge her Majesty's Master-shipwrights and such others as I shall nominate, of whom he hath bought provisions at one rate, and shall appear in the said books to be entered at a higher price or rate, or by device mis-entered or put down in other terms, titles, or natures.

Mr. Hawkyns is to be charged with the receipt of 1,700*l.* six years together, for which he should have furnished her Majesty's storehouse with a double furniture from time to time (and there having been very little employment by all that time); now when it is required there is scant to be found a single furniture.

He is to be charged with the receipt of the said 1,700*l.* two years and three-quarters since upon a new bargain to answer and perform the Extraordinary, upon which by a survey taken and remaining under all the Officers' hands he ought to have builded before this time 4 new ships, and hath not builded or new made any one, but at her Majesty's new charges. As to the other survey, which do enable[2] the state of the navy more than present experience of them doth maintain, they are known to be procured by Mr. Hawkyns; and albeit the Master-shipwrights' hands be unto them, the manner thereof being manifested, they cannot serve his turn to justify so manifest an untruth.

He is to be charged with the receipt of 1,000*l.* per annum eight years, which 1,000*l.* per annum he hath received to perform the Ordinary, and the

[1] Chancellor of the Exchequer.

[2] This use of the word 'enable' for to 'enhance' is not found in Elizabethan literature.

greatest charge thereof hath been answered by her Majesty by allowance given him, and by Sir William Wynter's confession, the full sum of 1,000*l.* per annum hath been allowed him, the manner how the sum was given is to be understood by Sir William Wynter, his examination, or by mis-entries or surcharges in his books to be found out. As for those ships that within the time of his last bargain of Extraordinary have either been repaired or new made, the greatest charge thereof hath been laid upon her Majesty by device of framing it to be out of his charge, as if anything be added to the strength, or that the ship hath been employed and received never so little grievance, then doth he make it her Majesty's charge, and, under colour of that, maketh her Majesty bear all, or most part, of his Ordinary and Extraordinary also. The true note of all his disbursements by all the said time is kept by the said Master-shipwright, which, being compared with his books, will show and set forth his deceitful gain. And for that he can botch up the ships no longer, but that they must needs come to new building, he will not continue his bargain. He saith he will lie in prison rather. He will give over all to her Majesty, hoping to go away with that he hath most deceitfully gained, and to leave 3,000*l.* or 4,000*l.* a year charge more to her Majesty than heretofore.

It is to be proved that he hath made a gain of her Majesty in all his bargains for new making, both in the price and also in gain upon timber and planks, which he bringeth in by her Majesty's commission, rating it at 25 which cost him 18 ; and so dealeth he in her Majesty's storehouse by thrusting in what he listeth how bad soever, Lynn and Boston rope instead of Dantzig and Muscovy, and at what price he listeth ; and so in like sort doth he

and his friends with canvas and other provisions whatsoever; and whereas he and his fellow Officers should be surveyors, controllers, and savers for her Majesty, they are savers of themselves and make the bargains to their own profits.

As to his 1,200*l.* per annum for moorings, his own confession of dividing and sharing that doth show his gain therein; but it may be said for him in that, that he hath performed his bargain therein, though not in the rest, and so is not to account for any profits. I answer, he hath moored them in truth, although very badly and dangerously, with cables of less length than fit or accustomed, and which is worse, where her Majesty was wont to have sufficient store of good oakum for her said ships made out of the remains of the said moorings, now they serve him to new make into cordage, which maketh a monstrous deceit and is the cause of much danger, and the refuse of that false and deceitful cordage is converted into oakum, which is most dangerous to the state of the navy, to be proved by all the workmen that have been in the late works at Chatham to have been found in the said ships, and to be so bad and insufficient, as aforesaid.

For the 1,800*l.* per annum which he hath received for wages, his profit must needs be great therein, by dead pays which remain to him when the ships are employed or in repairing, which, with the great profit he maketh of colourable and feigned deliveries out of provisions, and no account for receipt of remains, must be collected and gathered by examining of the Master-pursers and other Officers of the navy.

Besides all this, he hath the benefit of her Majesty's commission for provision of timber, plank, &c. By this he hath gained greatly, and abused her Majesty's subjects marvellously, which is

grievously cried out upon in her Majesty's loyal county of Kent. I can manifestly prove it, that he repaired his own ship called the Primrose, and the bark Talbot, with timber out of her Majesty's yard at Deptford, being marked timber and brought thither by commission. It will be proved also that those ships which he builded and coloureth in the name of his wife to have been builded with the like, and that sugar chests are made with the like timber and sent for Barbary as his wife's commodities. Moreover, not contented with this, he is partner with Chapman, who in his yard vendeth to great profit the like timber and plank, and Sir Walter Ralegh's ships were there builded with the same; and yet for their private profits the great ship which is put to her Majesty was made to amount to so great a charge that her Highness did pay, as it is credibly reported, 4,000*l.* for the same, being 1,000*l.* more than the price whereat her Majesty may have a better.[1]

The premises considered, the said Mr. Hawkyns is not only in respect of his said deceits and contempts committed against her Majesty and commonweal, to be committed to her Majesty's mercy, but also by a direct law to be charged capitally for using her Majesty's commission to his own private commodities; for justice wherein the danger of my life and loss of my blood crieth out. So may her Majesty recall her concealed treasure out of his and his friends' deceitful possession, and therewith supply the aged and decayed state of her Highness's navy, which will require no less than 30,000*l.* within six years, in which time, by good opinions, there are needfully to be builded at least sixteen.

[1] Probably referring to the Ark Ralegh; see p. 283. Howard considered it a very good bargain. See *Defeat of the Armada*, i. 85.

MOBILISATION

I.

Rates of Pay.

[S.P. Dom. Eliz. clii. 19.][1]

January, Anno 1581 (*i.e.* 1582)

The Wages for the Officers of the Queen's Ships at Sea determined by the Officers of the Navy, which are not to be exceeded, viz.[2]

[*Class I.* 800 *tons and upwards.*]

Elizabeth Jonas, Triumph, White Bear, Victory.

	£	s.	d.	
The Master, per mensem	2	1	8	Dead shares for every ship, accounting the share at 5s.
Two Mates	1	1	8	
A Boatswain	1	1	8	
Two Mates	0	11	8	
Four Quartermasters	0	16	8	
Their Mates	0	11	8	
A Yeoman of the tacks	0	11	8	
A Coxswain	0	11	8	
His Mate	0	9	2	
A Yeoman of the jere[3]	0	11	8	
His Mate	0	9	2	
A Purser	0	16	8	
A Cook	0	11	8	
Two Mates	0	9	2	
A Steward	0	11	8	
Two Mates	0	9	2	
A Master Carpenter	0	16	8	
Two Mates	0	11	8	
A Swabber	0	9	2	

[1] This is a small quarto paper book not entirely filled up. It is corrected and explained in places by interlineations written in a hand that closely resembles that of Hawkyns.

[2] For the scale of pay it will be seen the ships are divided into six classes, but no regular system of 'rates' existed. For practical purposes ships were usually regarded as of the greater sort, the middle sort, and the lesser sort.

[3] A 'jeer-rope' Boteler defines as 'a piece of a hawser made

	£	s.	d.	
A Master Gunner	0	10	0	Rewards.
Two Mates	0	7	6	
Four Quartermasters[1]	0	7	6	
Their Mates	0	7	6	
A Surgeon	0	15	0	
His two men	0	6	8	
Four Trumpeters	0	15	0	
A Drum and Fife	0	10	0	
A Pilot	1	0	0	

[*Class II. from* 500 *to* 800 *tons.*]

Mary Rose, Bonaventure, Lion, Phill and Mary, Hope, Revenge.

A Master, per mensem	2	10	0	Dead shares for every ship.
Two Mates	0	16	8	
A Boatswain	0	16	8	
His Mate	0	11	8	
Four Quartermasters	0	11	8	
Their Mates	0	9	2	
A Yeoman of the jere	0	11	8	
A Yeoman of the tacks	0	11	8	
A Coxswain	0	11	8	
His Mate	0	9	2	
A Purser	0	11	8	
A Cook	0	11	8	

fast to the main-yard and foreyard close at the ties of great ships (for small ones have them not), and so reeved through a block, which is seized close to the top, and so comes down and is again reeved through a block at the bottom of the mast close by the deck; and great ships have one on one side of the ties, and another on the other; and their use is to help hoise up the yard, and especially to succour the ties and to keep the yard from falling down if the ties should break.' The ties he defines as 'the ropes by which the yards do hang, and they carry up the yards when the halliards are strained to hoise the yard.'

[1] Probably the petty officers, usually called quarter-gunners—*i.e.* gunner's quartermasters.

	£	s.	d.	
A Steward	0	11	8	Dead shares for every ship.
Two Mates	0	9	2	
A Master Carpenter	0	16	8	
A Mate	0	11	8	
Another Mate	0	9	2	
A Swabber	0	9	2	
A Master Gunner	0	10	0	Rewards.
Two Mates	0	7	6	
Four Quartermasters	0	7	6	
Their Mates	0	7	6	
A Surgeon	0	15	0	
His man	0	6	8	
Two Trumpeters	0	15	0	
A Drum and Fife	0	10	0	
A Pilot	1	0	0	

An Admiral[1] three Trumpeters.

[*Class III. from* 300 *to* 500 *tons.*]

Dreadnought, Swiftsure, Antelope, Swallow, Foresight.

A Master, per mensem	1	16	8	Dead shares for every ship.
A Mate	0	16	8	
A Boatswain	0	11	8	
A Mate	0	9	2	
Four Quartermasters	0	11	8	
Four Mates	0	9	2	
A Purser	0	11	8	
A Cook	0	11	8	
A Steward	0	11	8	
Two Mates	0	9	2	
A Master Carpenter	0	11	8	
A Mate	0	9	2	
A Coxswain	0	9	2	
A Swabber	0	9	2	

[1] Meaning if the ship is commissioned as an 'admiral' or flag-ship.

	£	s.	d.	
A Master Gunner	0	10	0	Rewards.
A Mate	0	7	6	
Four Quartermasters	0	7	6	
Four Mates	0	7	6	
A Surgeon	0	15	0	
His man	0	6	8	
A Drum and Fife	0	10	8	
A Trumpeter	0	15	0	
A Pilot	0	16	8	

An Admiral two Trumpeters.

[*Class IV. from* 200 *to* 300 *tons.*]

Aid, Bull, Tiger.

A Master, per mensem	1	11	8	Dead shares for every ship.
A Mate		11	8	
A Boatswain		11	8	
A Mate		9	2	
Four Quartermasters		11	8	
Four Mates		9	2	
A Purser		11	8	
A Cook		11	8	
A Steward		11	8	
Two Mates		9	2	
A Master Carpenter		11	8	
A Mate		9	2	
A Swabber		7	6	
A Master Gunner		10	0	Rewards.
A Mate		7	6	
Four Quartermasters		7	6	
Their Mates		7	6	
A Surgeon		15	0	
A Pilot		16	8	
A Trumpeter		15	0	
A Drum and Fife		10	0	

[*Class V. from* 100 *to* 200 *tons.*]

Scout, Handmaid, Achates.

	£	s.	d.	
A Master, per mensem	1	16	8	Dead shares for every ship.
A Mate		11	8	
Four Quartermasters		11	8	
Their Mates		9	2	
A Boatswain		11	8	
A Mate		9	2	
A Purser, Cook, and Steward		11	8	
A Master Carpenter		11	8	
A Mate		9	2	
A Master Gunner		10	0	Rewards.
A Mate		7	6	
Two Quartermasters		7	6	
Two Mates		7	6	
A Surgeon		15	0	
A Trumpeter		15	0	
A Drum and Fife		10	0	
A Pilot		15	0	

[*Class VI. Pinnaces.*]

Merlin.

	£	s.	d.	
A Master, per mensem	1	1	8	Dead shares for every ship.
A Mate		11	8	
Two Quartermasters		11	8	
A Boatswain		11	8	
A Purser, Cook, and Steward		9	2	
A Carpenter		11	8	
A Master Gunner		10	0	Rewards.
A Mate		7	6	
A Drum and Fife		10	0	
A Trumpeter		15	0	

II.

[Victualling.]

Victuals and Provisions necessary for Men.

For 4 men one month of 28 days.	Beer, 1 pipe	$\frac{1}{2}$ ton	Account 1 ton stowage.
	Bread, 112 lbs. . .		
	Beef, 128 lbs. . .		
	Salt and cask, 56 lbs. .	$\frac{1}{6}$	
	Fish, butter, cheese, 79 lbs.		
	Wood and water . . .	$\frac{1}{4}$	

Transportation.

Burden and tonnage.—For transporting of victuals and provisions necessary for men in warlike service at the seas, every 4 men for one month of 28 days are to be allowed in shipping one ton and a half tonnage. So will the provision of 400 men one month require a ship of 100 tons burden and stowage, but a tonnage 150 tons.[1]

Men.—The shipping that are employed for transportation are allowed men to sail them after the rate for every 5 tons of tonnage 1 man.

Prest and conduct.—For prest, conduct, and presters' charges calling to service, at 2*s.* 4*d.* per man.

Sea wages and victuals.—For wages and victuals for them after the rate of 24*s.* every man per mensem, dead shares and rewards in the same accounted.

Rigging wages and victuals.—Wages and victuals for 7 days for taking in the victuals, at 6*s.* per man.

III.

Rule for Ascertaining Tonnage.

By the proportion of breadth, depth, and length

[1] For the system of Elizabethan tonnage measurement, see Oppenheim, p. 132, and *Drake and the Tudor Navy*, ii. 451.

of any ship or vessel, to judge what burden she may be of in merchants' goods and how much of dead weight or ton and tonnage.

The Ascension,[1] of London, being in breadth 21 feet, deep *from that breadth to the keel*[2] 12 feet, and by the keel *in length*[2] 54 feet, doth carry in burden of merchants' goods (in pipes of oil, or Bordeaux wine), 160 tons; but to account her in dead weight or for ton and tonnage there might be added one-third part of the same burden, which maketh her tonnage 213$\frac{1}{3}$ tons.

After the former rate these proportions follow:

—	Breadth at mid-ship beam	Depth from her breadth	Length by the keel	Burden in cask, oil or wine	Dead weight tonnage
	Foot	Foot	Foot	Tons	[Tons]
A ship of . .	20	10	42	86$\frac{1}{2}$	115
A ship of . .	21	10$\frac{1}{2}$	45	102$\frac{1}{10}$	136$\frac{1}{8}$
Prudence, of London . .	[23][3] 24	[11$\frac{1}{2}$] 12	51$\frac{1}{2}$	[152] 150$\frac{1}{3}$	202$\frac{2}{3}$
Golden Lion . .	32	12 14	102	403 461	537 614$\frac{2}{3}$
		16	72	374$\frac{2}{3}$	499$\frac{1}{3}$
Eliz. Jonas . .	40	18	100	740	986$\frac{2}{3}$

To find the burden of any ship proportionally to the Ascension before specified (or to any other ship or vessel whose burden you know certain), multiply the breadth of her by her depth, and the product by her length at the keel, the amounting sum (which for the Ascension is 15,552) you shall use for your divisor, and say—

If 15,552 (the [cubical[3]] solid number for the Ascension) do give 160 tons (her just burden), what shall 8,400 (the [cubical[3]] solid number of a ship 20 foot in breadth, 10 foot deep, and 42 foot by the keel) work, and you shall find 86$\frac{3}{8}\frac{4}{1}$ tons of burden where-

[1] MS. Assention. [2] Italics interlined.
[3] Words and figures in [ ] are erased in original.

unto if you add $\frac{1}{3}$ part of the same, you shall find her tonnage 114 and almost $\frac{3}{6}$.

IV.

Manning

THE ORDER OF MANNING SHIPPING BY PROPORTION OF THEIR TONNAGE OR BURDEN.

For the Wars.

For service in warlike manner the ship is to be rated by her tonnage in dead weight, and to allow for every 5 tons 3 men, of which number the $\frac{1}{3}$ part to be soldiers, and the $\frac{1}{7}$ part of the rest gunners, the residue mariners.

That is to say, for a ship of 500 tons:

Soldiers, 100
Gunners, 28
Mariners, 172
} Amounteth 300 men.

For Merchant Voyages.

1. For service in merchant voyages for merchandises, the ship is to be accounted by the tonnage of her burden in cask as aforesaid, and the common rate is to allow for every 5 tons one man, that is for a ship of 500 tons burden 75 men, whereof the $\frac{1}{12}$ part gunners, the rest mariners—viz.:

Mariners, 69
Gunners, 06
} Amounteth 75 men.

2. In some service for the merchant to augment the strength for some special purpose they will allow for every 4 tons one man.

3. Again some other serving in merchant voyages do allow but one man for every 6 tons of burden.

V.

Ground-tackle.

A Rule in Proportion for the Sizes of Cables to serve all sorts of Shipping.

Unto every foot of the ship or vessel's breadth at the midship beam allow ½ an inch for circumference of her best cable, being tarred and of such goodness as Dantzig, Königsberg,[1] or Russia making; but if the stuff be finer, as are used white in the Levant seas, then may the sizes be less according to the goodness and making of the same.

For the second and third sort the sizes may be lesser—viz.:

Example.

To fit a ship of 32 foot at midship beam,

Her best cable for sheet anchor ought to be .	16	inches of circumference.
The second sort . .	15	
The third . . .	14	
The fourth . . .	13	

When the best cable is of circumference 10 inches and upwards, the second and third sort may follow in proportion, as in the former example, but if the best be under 10 inches compass, then it shall not be necessary to have more sizes to the best than the second sort only, which may be in proportion as in the former example.

From 16 inches circumference to 10 inches, the sizes of cables may be best, second, and third.

From 16 inches the best cable upwards, the sizes may be best, second, third, and fourth.

[1] MS. Danske and Coinsborowe.

A Rule in Proportion for the Weight of Anchors to fit every Size of Cables.

A cable of 16 inches circumference being tarred, and of the goodness of stuff and making as before specified, will require an anchor to fit the same (being made as below in the proportion of anchors) of 16 cwt., accounting the cwt. 112. This scantling and weight I account fit, and in mean proportion.

Take, therefore, the square of 16 inches circumference, which is 256, and let that number be always your divisor, and say:

If 256, the square of 16 inches circumference, give an anchor of 16 cwt., what weight of anchor shall . the square of . (such circumference of cable as you desire to know) require to have? Multiply and divide, so shall you in the quotient find your desire.

Example.

If 256 give 16 cwt., then 400 (which is the square of 20 inches circumference) shall give 25 cwt.

Again, if 256 give 16 cwt., then 144 (the square of 12 inches circumference) shall give 9 cwt.

The Sizes of best Cables and Weight of best Anchors to fit all sorts of Shipping and Vessels, from 44 foot in breadth at midship beam downwards.

Breadth at midship beam.	Circumference of best cable.	Weight of best anchor.		
Foot	Inches	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.
44	22	30	1	0
40	20	25	0	0
38	19	22	2	7

Breadth at midship beam.	Circumference of best cable.	Weight of best anchor.		
Foot	Inches	Cwt.	qrs.	lbs.
36	18	20	0	11
34	17	18	0	16
32	16	16	0	0
30	15	14	0	7
28	14	12	1	0
26	13	10	2	7
24	12	9	0	0
22	11	7	2	7
20	10	6	2	11
18	9	5	0	7
16	8	4	0	0
14	7	3	0	7
12	6	2	1	0
10	5	1	2	7
8	4	1	0	0
6	3	0	2	7

Euclid, Book xii. Prop. 2.[1] Circles or circular planes are in that proportion the one to the other that the squares of their diameters are. And forasmuch as circumferences of all circles have one and the same proportion to their own diameters, the squares of the circumferences must necessarily have one and the same proportion to the squares of their diameters. And therefore circles (or circular planes) shall have also such proportion as the squares of their circumferences.[2]

[1] MS. 'Eucl. 2 of 12.'

[2] Here follows a figure to illustrate the proposition.

VI.

Estimates

HAWKYNS TO BURGHLEY

[**clxxxv. 33.**—Holograph and addressed.]

My duty in humble manner remembered unto your good Lordship, I do send herewith the book which your Lordship commanded me to make, the substance whereof your Lordship may briefly see in the latter end of the book, and so by the paging see the charge particularly either for the whole navy for three months with all their company, or else for three months for their transportation to Portsmouth with a third part of their numbers.[1]

I do also send your Lordship a note to show how fit and commodious it would be to augment the sailors' wages, which no doubt would greatly strengthen and benefit the service and nothing at all increase the charge. Your Lordship may with honour and safety prefer it.

I have received two letters for wheat to be had out of Kent and a letter for elms from Reading,[2] for which I humbly thank your good Lordship, and I humbly take my leave from London the 28th of December 1585.

Your honourable Lordship's ever most bounden,

JOHN HAWKYNS.

[1] The scheme of naval mobilisation which had been established early in the reign provided for a state of semi-mobilisation, under which the fleet was concentrated at its summer quarters at Portsmouth, and manned by one-third of its full war complement.

[2] MS. Redynge.

[*First Enclosure*]

The Book of the whole Navy and Merchant Ships.[1] XXXII.

I.

The 27th of December, 1585.

The names of all the Queen's Majesty's ships with their tonnage and number of mariners, gunners, and soldiers, viz. :[2]

Tonnage				Men
1,000	The Triumph	Mariners,	350	600
		Gunners,	50	
		Soldiers,	200	
900	The Elizabeth Jonas	Mariners,	330	570
		Gunners,	50	
		Soldiers,	190	
900	The White Bear	Mariners,	330	570
		Gunners,	50	
		Soldiers,	190	
800	The Victory	Mariners,	300	500
		Gunners,	40	
		Soldiers,	160	
650	The Hope	Mariners,	190	330
		Gunners,	30	
		Soldiers,	110	
500	The Nonpareil[3]	Mariners,	170	300
		Gunners,	30	
		Soldiers,	100	

[1] Endorsement.

[2] Neither the Elizabeth Bonaventure nor the Aid, which were in commission with Drake, are included in this list. At the foot of the first page Burghley has noted the 'Eliz. Bonaventure.' Before 1588 three fine galleons, the Ark, Rainbow, Vanguard, and several smaller vessels were added.

[3] MS. Non Pereley.

Tonnage				Men
500	The Mary Rose .	Mariners,	170	300
		Gunners,	30	
		Soldiers,	100	
500	The Lion . .	Mariners,	170	300
		Gunners,	30	
		Soldiers,	100	
500	The Revenge . .	Mariners,	170	300
		Gunners,	30	
		Soldiers,	100	
360	The Dreadnought .	Mariners,	136	220
		Gunners,	24	
		Soldiers,	60	
330	The Swiftsure .	Mariners,	130	200
		Gunners,	20	
		Soldiers,	50	
300	The Antelope .	Mariners,	130	200
		Gunners,	20	
		Soldiers,	50	
300	The Swallow . .	Mariners,	130	200
		Gunners,	20	
		Soldiers,	50	
260	The Foresight. .	Mariners,	120	180
		Gunners,	20	
		Soldiers,	40	
160	The Bull . . .	Mariners,	88	120
		Gunners,	12	
		Soldiers,	20	
160	The Tiger[1] . .	Mariners,	88	120
		Gunners,	12	
		Soldiers,	20	
120	The Scout . .	Mariners,	60	80
		Gunners,	10	
		Soldiers,	10	

[1] Against this Burghley has written 'The New Tiger.' She had been rebuilt in 1570, but no trace of a recent 'new making' appears in the accounts. She was probably a new purchase. See *ante*, p. 249.

Tonnage			Men
100	The Achates . .	Mariners, 56 Gunners, 8 Soldiers, 6	70
	The Galley Bonavolia . . .	Mariners, 200 Gunners, 10 Soldiers, 90	300
50	The Merlin . .	Mariners, 20 Gunners, 4	24
100	The George . .	Mariners, 16 Gunners, 4	20
	Ten pinnaces . .	Mariners, 200 Gunners, 20	220
	Total . .	Mariners, 3,550 Gunners, 524 Soldiers, 1,646	5,720 men.

II.

An estimate of the charge for the furnishing to the seas in warlike manner 20 of her Majesty's ships and vessels before named, for one month of 28 days to the month. And so consequently for two months and for three months :

[A. Treasurer's Department.]

Prest and Conduct[1]	£	s.	d.
First for the prest and conduct in calling to service of 4,030 mariners and gunners out of divers shires, at 7*s.* every man .	1,410	10	0

[1] The procedure in calling out seamen for service was to issue a precept for the numbers required to the local officials of each district or place. On receipt of this they summoned all seamen to appear before them. Those selected were served with official notice to proceed to headquarters, and given prest and conduct (*i.e.* travelling money) and an itinerary setting out their most direct route and specifying sleeping places, &c. See MS. by Robert Humphrey in the Pepysian Library at Cambridge.

	£	s.	d.
Item for the prest and conduct of 1,690 soldiers, to be had as aforesaid, at 4*s.* every man .	338	0	0
Coat Money			
Item for the coat money of the said soldiers, at 4*s.* every man .	338	0	0
Rigging Wages			
Item for the rigging wages of 2,000 mariners, gunners, and soldiers, for one week, at 20*d.* every man	166	13	4
Sea Wages			
Item for sea wages of 5,720 mariners, gunners, and soldiers, for one month, at 9*s.* 4*d.* every man per mensem	2,669	6	8
Sea Store			
Item for sea store of the said ships, being 20 in number, at 40*l.* every ship	800	0	0
Conduct in Discharge			
Item for conduct in discharge of 4,030 mariners and gunners, at 6*s.* every man	1,209	0	0
Item for like conduct in discharge of the said 1,690 soldiers, at 3*s.* every man	253	10	0
Total of the Treasurer is	7,185	0	0

Memorandum. There is nothing required for loss of boats, cocks, waste and wear of tackle, cables, anchors, sails, masts, &c.

[B. Victualling Department.]

Rigging Victual

	£	s.	d.
The Victualler's charge for one month of 28 days—viz., for the rigging victual of the said 2,000 men for 7 days, at 5½*d.* the man per diem	160	8	4

Sea Victual

For the sea victual of the said 5,720 mariners, gunners, and soldiers, at 14*s.* the man per mensem .	4,004	0	0

Transportation

For transporting of one month's victual for the aforesaid 20 ships from London to Chatham, at 5*l.* every ship	100	0	0
Total of the Victualler is	4,264	8	4

[*Totals.*]

The whole charge for the first month is	11,449	8	4
The whole charge for the second month is	6,773	6	8
The whole charge for the third month is	6,773	6	8
The whole three months' charge is .	24,996	1	8

III.

The names and burden of 22 merchant ships meet to join with her Majesty's ships if need require, viz. :

[Tons]		[Men]
300	The Edward Bonaventure . .	160
200	The Solomon, of London . .	120
300	Shoppley's ship, of Dartmouth .	160
200	The Centurion	120
200	The Ascension	120
200	The Prudence	120
200	The Charity	120
300	The Susan	160
200	The Red Lion	120
180	The Amity	100
200	The Golden Noble . . .	120
200	The Minion	120
180	The Mary Rose. . . .	100
300	The Lion, being a new ship of Mr. Cokayne's . . .	160
200	The George Bonaventure . .	120
120	The Violet	80
140	The Brave	90
180	The Primrose, of London . .	100
140	The Anne Frances, of Aldborough	90
160	The Samaritan, of London. .	80
140	The Bark Taylor, of London .	90
140	The Mary Katherine, of London	90
		2,540 in all.

The charge of the 22 merchant ships to be continued in service three months with their numbers wholly furnished, will amount unto, by estimation, 12,000*l.*

If they continue three months without calling of their full numbers (as her Majesty's ships do),

then the charge of the said 22 ships will be but 5,284*l.*

If it shall please her Majesty to make an augmentation of ten merchant ships more, then the charge must be increased 6,000*l.* more, and there shall be nominated ten of the best and serviceablest ships that are to be found within the realm (whereof there are great plenty), which charge of 6,000*l.* must be added to the great warrant.

So that the charge of all the merchant ships will be 18,000*l.*

IV.

The numbers of the mariners and gunners which are meet to serve in her Majesty's ships to convey them to the Isle of Wight:

	Mariners	Gunners	Men
The Elizabeth Jonas	200	30	230
The Triumph	200	30	230
The White Bear	200	30	230
The Victory	150	24	174
The Mary Rose	100	20	120
The Hope	100	20	120
The Lion	100	20	120
The Nonpareil	100	20	120
The Revenge	100	20	120
The Dreadnought	80	16	96
The Swiftsure	80	16	96
The Antelope	70	12	82
The Swallow	70	12	82
The Foresight	60	12	72
The Bull	40	10	50
The Tiger	40	10	50
The Scout	30	8	38
The Achates	30	8	38
The Galley Bonavolia	140	10	150

	Mariners	Gunners	Men
The Merlin	16	4	20
The George	16	0	16
Ten Pinnaces . . .	100	10	110

2,364 men in all.

V.

An estimate of the charge for to carry and transport the whole Navy of her Majesty from Chatham to the Isle of Wight, to be ready for that purpose at Chatham by the 10th of March next:

[A. Treasurer's Department.]

Prest and Conduct

	£	s.	d.
For the prest and conduct of 2,284 mariners and gunners to be taken out of London and the River of Thames, Yorkshire, Lincolnshire, Newcastle, Suffolk, Norfolk, Essex and Kent, at 6*s.* every man with the Presters' charges	685	4	0

Rigging Wages

For the rigging wages of 500 men for 21 days, at 5*s.* per man .	125	0	0

Sea Store

For the sea store of 20 ships—viz., bowls, buckets, shovels, scoops, boats' oars, compasses, running glasses, deep-sea lines, sounding leads, flat lead, salt hides, flags of St. George, nails of all sorts, canvas, twine, marline, ratline, &c.	800	0	0

Sea Wages

	£	s.	d.
For the sea wages of 2,284 mariners and gunners for one month, of 28 days to the month, at 9*s.* 4*d.* every man per mensem . .	1,065	17	4

Conduct in Discharge

For conduct in discharge of the said 2,284 mariners and gunners, at 5*s.* every man . . .	571	0	0
The Treasurer's charge is	3,247	1	4

[B. Victualling Department.]

The Victualler's charge for one month of 28 days:

Rigging Victuals

For the rigging victuals of 500 men for 31 days, at 9*s.* 7½*d.* every man	240	12	6

Sea Victuals

For the sea victuals of 2,284 men for one month of 28 days, at 14*s.* every man . . .	1,598	16	0

Transportation

For the transportation of one month's victuals for the said 2,284 men from London to Chatham .	50	0	0
The Victualler's charge is .	1,889	8	6

	£	s.	d.
Item. That one month's wages and victuals more for the said 2,284 men will be	2,714	13	4
Item. That if this charge be continued three months then the whole charge will amount unto.	10,565	16	6
So as if the service require none other number to be called to serve in the ships there will be spared out of the Great Warrant of 25,000 (before demanded) near to the sum of . . .	14,500	0	0

VI.

[*Memoranda*]

If there be likelihood to proceed to the calling of greater numbers to the ships then always upon 8 days' warning their full numbers may be aboard the ships, which numbers are to be called out of the west parts and such counties as are not far from Portsmouth.

Item. It is to be considered that if the 22 merchant ships shall be employed to accompany her Majesty's ships, then the one half of the charge required for her Majesty's ships is to be demanded for the said merchant ships.

Item. It is to be considered that provision of victuals, cask, brewhouses and bakehouses be in a readiness at Portsmouth to supply the ships with victual as the service may require.

Item. It shall be necessary that to the warrant granted for this service there be added the charge for the furnishing of the 22 merchant ships, which will be by estimation 12,000*l.* So as the whole warrant will be 37,000*l.* or thereabouts. Yet there

shall not need to issue out of this Great Warrant any more than the service shall require from time to time, whereof the Treasurer and Victualler may inform the Lord Treasurer as need shall be.

Item. It is to be considered that the merchant ships which shall be called to service are to be relieved with cordage and canvas out of her Majesty's storehouse, whereof a provision is to be made forthwith to the sum of 3,000*l.* worth, which said sum must be disbursed presently.

VII.

An Abstract or Substance of this Book.

What the Great Warrant must include

	£	s.	d.
First, for the charge of three months for all her Majesty's own ships as appeareth page 3 . . .	24,996	1	8
Secondly, the charge of 32 merchant ships as appeareth in page 4 .	18,000	0	0
Thirdly, the charge of cordage and canvas as appeareth in page 7 .	3,000	0	0
So as the whole warrant must be .	45,996	1	8

What charge must issue out of the Great Warrant if the ships stand in order with their smaller numbers three months.

First, for the charge of all her Majesty's own ships for three months	10,567	16	6
Secondly, for the 32 merchant ships	5,284	0	0
Thirdly, for a provision of cordage and canvas	3,000	0	0
Total is	£18,851	16	6

[*Second Enclosure*][1]

THE 28TH DECEMBER, 1585.

A NOTE TO SHOW THE COMMODITY THAT WOULD GROW TO HER MAJESTY AND COUNTRY BY INCREASING THE WAGES OF THE SERVITORS BY SEA IN HER HIGHNESS'S SHIPS.

First, if it might please her Majesty to allow for the medium of all servitors an increase of 4*s.* 8*d.* the man by the month, it would fall out to be to every man (one with the other) 6*d.* by the day; so as the common man that had but 6*s.* 8*d.* by the month shall have 10*s.*, and so every officer will be increased after that rate a third part more in his wages.[2]

By this means her Majesty's ships would be furnished with able men, such as can make shift for themselves, keep themselves clean[3] without vermin and noisomeness, which breedeth sickness and mortality, all which could be avoided.

The ships would be able to continue longer in the service that they should be appointed unto,[4] and would be able to carry victuals for a longer time.

There is no captain or master exercised in service but would undertake with more courage any enterprise with 250 able men than with 300 of tag and rag, and assure himself of better success.

The wages being so small causeth the best men to

[1] This document is in triplicate. A copy of it also appears in *Defeat of the Armada*, ii. app. D.

[2] In the margin Burghley notes 'Increase of every man per mensem 4*s.* 8*d.*, per diem will be 6*d.* per diem. So every man shall have 10*s.*'

[3] 'Clear' in one copy.

[4] 'That should be appointed to serve' in one copy.

run away, to bribe, and make mean to be cleared from the service. And insufficient, unable, and unskilful persons supply the place, which discourages the captains, masters, and men that know what service requireth.

If it shall please her Majesty to yield unto this increase, her Highness's service would be far safer and much bettered, and yet the charge nothing increased, as for example :—

The charge of the Lion for one month's wages and victual of 300 men, after[1] the old rate of 23*s.* 4*d.* per man, doth amount unto 350*l.*

The same ship being now furnished with 250 able men, after the new rate of 28*s.* (wages and victuals) for every man per mensem, will amount unto (even as before) monthly, 350*l.*[2]

So as all the commodities are obtained without any increase of charge to her Majesty.

The sailors also, in consideration of her Majesty's gracious liberality, shall be bound for to bring into the said service every man his sword and dagger.

Shipkeeper's Pay.

[**S.P. Dom. cxciv. 70.**—Endorsed in Burghley's hand 'per Edw. Bash.'[3]]

A brief declaration of the names of the Queen's Majesty's ships and pinnaces, with the number of men appointed for the keeping of the same lying in harbour, together with the increase of one half-

[1] 'Being' in one copy.

[2] Against this Burghley notes : 'It is 14*s.* for victuals and 9*s.* 4*d.* for wages. The increase will be 4*s.* 8*d.*, and so the charge of the victual and the wages shall be equal.'

[3] Edward Baeshe, the veteran Surveyor of the Victuals, one of the chief officers of the navy.

penny by the day a man for the number of the same ship keepers, as hereafter followeth, viz. :

THE NAMES OF HER MAJESTY'S SHIPS. 1. The names of the ships of Old :—	Men	The total—viz., at	½d. the man per diem of increase	Per mensem 28 days	Per annum
The Elizabeth Jonas	18				
The Triumph	18				
The White Bear	18				
The Victory	17				
The Ark Ralegh [1]	16				
The Hope	12				
The Mary Rose	12				
The Revenge	12				
The Bonaventure	12				
The Lion	11				
The Nonpareil, sometime the Philip and Mary	11	5½d. per diem of old amounteth to	*s.* *d.* 104 0½	£ *s.* *d.* 145 13 2	£ *s.* *d.* 1898 15 2½
The Dreadnought	9				
The Swiftsure	9				
The Antelope	9				
The Swallow	9				
The Foresight	9	½d. le piece per diem amounteth to	9 5½	13 4 10	172 12 3½
The Aid	7				
The Tiger	6				
The Bull	6				
The Scout	5		[5 13 6]	[158 18 0]	[2071 7 6]
The Achates	4				
The Merlin	2				
The Jennet	2				
The galley Bonavolia, sometime the galley Eleanor [2]	4				
The Handmaid	3				
The George Hoy	2				
In all : ships, 25 ; men, 227.					

[1] Inserted by Burghley. She had probably been bought recently by the Queen from Ralegh, but she does not seem to have been launched till June 1587, and was not ready for sea in October. See *Defeat of the Armada*, ii. 332, and *ante*, p. 228.

[2] This was the only galley remaining in the English service. She first appears on the lists in 1563, and seems to have been a French prize. (Oppenheim, *Administration of the Navy*, I. 120, *note*.) When in 1584 she was rebuilt her name was changed to Bonavolia, perhaps to remove the stigma of serving in her, for *rematori di bonavoglia* was the Italian designation of free rowers who enlisted for the benches voluntarily. Cf., pp. 230, 313.

The Names of Her Majesty's Ships. 2. The names of the new ships and pinnaces [1]:—	Men	The total— viz., at	½d. the man per diem of increase	Per mensem 28 days	Per annum
The Rainbow	13				
The new ship at Woolwich [2]	16				
The Tramontana	6	5½d. per diem of old amounteth			
The Sun	2				
The Moon	2				
The Brigantine [3]	2				
The Charles	2	to	s. d. 25 8	£ s. d. 35 18 8	£ s. d. 468 8 4
The Advice	2				
The Trust	2	½d. the man per diem			
The Signet (lading)	2				
The Greyhound	2				
The Makeshift	2	amounteth			
The Spy	2	to	2 4	65 4	40 11 8
In all: ships and pinnaces, 13; men 56.			[1 8 0]	[42 4 0]	[508 0 0]

Sum total of ships and pinnaces, 38. Men, 283.

	£	s.	d.
Sum total of ½d. per diem	0	11	9½
Sum total of ½d. per annum	215	3	11½
Sum total of ½d. per mensem	16	10	2
Sum total of 5½d. per diem	6	9	8½
Sum total of 5½d. per annum	2,367	3	6½
Sum total of 5½d. per mensem	181	11	10
Sum total of all per annum	2,582	7	6

[1] Besides these 13 vessels turned out in 1586, 10 of the others were new or rebuilt within the last ten years—viz. Revenge and Scout 1577, Merlin 1579, Bonaventure and Antelope 1581, Lion 1582, Brigantine 1583, Nonpareil and Bonavolia 1584.

[2] The Vanguard.

[3] MS. 'Brigandine.' A brigantine in the sixteenth century was an oared vessel of the foyst type, and therefore classed in England with the pinnaces—that is, in the class of small oared vessels with auxiliary oar propulsion. This class corresponded closely with the gunboats of the eighteenth century, which used sweeps. In an account for costs of protecting the anchorage at Chatham, signed by Wynter, Hawkyns, and Holstok, and dated January 1586 (*S.P. Dom.* clxxxvi. 31), the whole navy is spoken of as 'Her Majesty's Ships, as well as Barks, Pinnaces, Brigantines

The Officers of a Queen's Ship and their Pay.[1]

[S.P. Dom. clxxxvi. 43.]

Officers usually in Her Majesty's ships, as, for example, the Lion :

1. The captain hath sometimes 20*s.* a day, sometimes 26*s.* 8*d.* a day, according to the greatness of his charge.

2. The master hath 6*s.* 8*d.* by the month and 7 dead shares, being 5*s.* every share, which maketh in all 41*s.* 8*d.* per mensem.

4. The master's mate hath 6*s.* 8*d.* and 4 dead shares, which is 26*s.* 8*d.* per mensem. In this ship is allowed two mates.

5. The pilot hath 6*s.* 8*d.* *and, in reward,* 8*s.* 4*d.* 15*s.* per mensem.

6. The boatswain hath 6*s.* 8*d.* and 2 dead shares, which is 16*s.* 8*d.* per mensem.

7. His mate hath 6*s.* 8*d.* and one dead share, which is 11*s.* 8*d.*

8. The boatswain hath two mates.

9–12. Four quartermasters have apiece 11*s.* 8*d.* per mensem.

13–16. Their four mates have 6*s.* 8*d.* apiece per mensem and half a dead share, which is 2*s.* 6*d.*, and maketh in all 9*s.* 2*d.* for apiece per mensem.

17. The steward hath (6*s.* 8*d.* *and* 5*s.*) 11*s.* 8*d.*

18. His mate (6*s.* 8*d.* *and* 2*s.* 6*d.*), 9*s.* 2*d.*

19. The cook, *likewise,* 11*s.* 8*d.*

20. His mate, *likewise,* 9*s.* 2*d.*

and Frigates,' but the usual Elizabethan classification was 'Ships, Barks and Pinnaces' (see Appendix B). The name of this Brigantine seems to have been the Seven Stars (see Oppenheim, *op. cit.* p. 120, *note*), but it was never used.

[1] Endorsed 'January 1585—*i.e.* 1586.' The italicised passages are additions in Burghley's hand.

21. Yeoman of the halliards,[1] *likewise* 11*s.* 8*d.*

21. Yeoman of the jere[2] *likewise,* 11*s.* 8*d.*

22. *Yeoman of the sheet,* 11*s.* 8*d.*

23. The surgeon, per mensem, 15*s.*, *as the pilot hath.*

24. The purser, per mensem, 11*s.* 8*d. ut supra.*

25–28. Four trumpeters, per mensem, 15*s.* apiece *ut supra as the pilot.*

29. A drum, per mensem, 11*s.* 8*d.*

30. A fife, per mensem, 11*s.* 8*d.*

31. The master gunner, per mensem, 6*s.* 8*d.* *and* 3*s.* 4*d. in reward.* 10*s.*

32. His mate, per mensem, 7*s.* 6*d.*, *in reward but* 10*d.*

33. Four quartermasters' mates,[3] 7*s.* 6*d.*, *in reward but* 10*d.*

37. A swabber, *vel swepar*, per mensem, 11*s.* 8*d.* *ut supra.*

Thirty-seven officers ;[4] *all these are to have a third part, as the mariners shall have.*

Mariners and soldiers have had but 6*s.* 8*d.*, *and now are to have* 10*s.*

NOTE ON NAVAL PAY

The above papers, when compared with those on pp. 185–191, 258, 272, present considerable difficulties as to what was rate of pay in Elizabeth's navy, both for seamen and officers.

[1] MS. 'Callyers.' [2] MS. 'gere.' *Ante*, p. 258.

[3] Perhaps a mistake for 'quarter-gunners.' The quartermaster's mates have been already scheduled. The practice seems to have been for the master gunner to have one or two 'gunners' mates' on small ships ; and 'quarter-gunners' on large ones. From the Borough depositions we know the Lion carried 'quarter-gunners.'

[4] It is really 38, counting the yeoman of the sheet inserted by Burghley.

I. *Seamen*

Mr. Oppenheim's conclusions, as the result of his comprehensive researches, are as follows: 'Until 1585 their wages remained at 6*s.* 8*d.* a month, to which they had been raised n 1546 or very shortly afterwards. In 1585 the sailor's pay was raised to 10*s.* a month through the action of Hawkyns.' And again, 'Seamen's wages remained unchanged till the end of the reign' of James I., when the rate reached 14*s.* a month (*Administration of the Navy*, pp. 134 and 197).

We find Drake accordingly, in 1587, asking for pay at the rate of 10*s.* a month, plus a 'reward' of 6*s.* 8*d.*; that is, he asks for 6*l.* for 12 months—viz.: 4 months' actual service, 2 months' extra pay ordered by the Queen, and 6 months granted by himself in lieu of prize money for the great carrack. Hawkyns, however, in auditing Drake's demand, takes the pay of the whole force at 14*s.* the month, 'as her Majesty doth ordinarily allow, diets of captains, dead shares, and rewards in the same accounted.' Turning to his 'Note for the Increase of the wages of the servitors by sea' (p. 281), we see the discrepancy between the two demands is only apparent. In Hawkyns's 'Note' he says his proposed increase will work out at a 'medium,' that is, an average of 14*s.* a man per month for all ranks, ranging upwards from 10*s.* a head for the 'common man.' It is by this average rate of pay, then, for all ranks that Hawkyns was testing the approximate accuracy of Drake's total, just as in the mobilisation estimate of December 1585, before his proposed increase of 4*s.* 8*d.* per man had been granted, he calculates the pay of all ranks at 9*s.* 4*d.* the man (see p. 273), when the actual pay of a seaman was still 6*s.* 8*d.* He also calculates on this same average of 9*s.* 4*d.* in 'a

note of the charge of ships remaining at sea,' dated 25 January, 1586 (*S.P. Dom.* clxxxvi. 34); so that Mr. Oppenheim's conclusion should probably be modified to the extent that Hawkyns's increase was ordered early in 1586, and not in 1585. One lucrative season of general reprisal had no doubt made it difficult to get good men for the navy at the old rate.

II. *Officers*

The scale of officers' pay presents much greater difficulties. 'Until 1582,' writes Mr. Oppenheim, 'the old system of paying the officers the wages of a common man per month, and adding to this a graduated proportion representing the dead shares and rewards, still continued. However, when wages were raised in that year, the dead shares and rewards were abolished, except as a form of expression, and each officer had a fixed sum per month according to the rate of his ship' (*op. cit.* p. 152).

Yet at the end of 1587 we see Drake still claiming pay for his officers both of the land and sea service on a scale of so many 'shares' or 'pays' of 10*s.* a month, plus the special reward of one old pay of 6*s.* 8*d.* It is possible then that the old system was not regarded as having been put an end to by the order of 1582. If the schedule of that order, as well as the 'Lion' list of January, 1586, be examined, it will appear that all the amounts are calculated on the old system of dead shares and rewards. All ordinary sea-officers (that is, officers usual in all ships whether armed or not) are allotted one pay of 6*s.* 8*d.* on the then new scale and so many dead shares or parts of dead shares, which were still calculated on the old rate of 5*s.* per pay. Officers peculiar to men-of-war are also allotted one pay of 6*s.* 8*d.*, but instead of the old dead shares

they are given a 'reward' consisting of one or more new pays or parts of a pay. Thus the master who was an officer common to war and merchant ships has in a first-class ship *2l.* 1*s.* 8*d.*, which is one pay of 6*s.* 8*d.* plus 35*s.*, or 7 old dead shares of 5*s.*; and so on down to the swabber, who has 9*s.* 2*d.*, which is one pay of 6*s.* 8*d.* plus 2*s.* 6*d.*, or half a dead share. Of the officers peculiar to armed ships who receive 'rewards' instead of dead shares the gunner has 10*s.*, which is 6*s.* 8*d.* plus 3*s.* 4*d.*, or half a pay; his mates, 7*s.* 6*d.*, which is 6*s.* 8*d.* plus 10*d.* or one-eighth of a pay; the trumpeters, 15*s.*, which is 6*s.* 8*d.* plus 8*s.* 4*d.* or one pay and a half; the pilot, 1*l.* or 3 pays. In the list of the Lion's officers, dated January 1586, all amounts are also calculated by the old 5*s.* dead shares, or by the new 6*s.* 8*d.* rewards. Where these are not actually stated Burghley has worked them out in the margin, as if he, at least, did not consider the system at an end. Drake in 1586, when endeavouring to make up the pay of the Queen's crews to an amount that would leave them as well off as the merchant crews who were paid by a share of the profits, naturally made his calculations on the basis of the traditional system, which he, too, clearly regarded as still subsisting.

Further, it should be noted that, whatever was the intention of the Admiralty officers in 1582 as to fixing a permanent rate of officers' pay, they did not abide by it. For in January, 1586, immediately before Hawkyns' increase, the master of the Lion, a second rate, is allotted one pay and seven dead shares, or 2*l.* 1*s.* 8*d.* in all, the proportion of a first rate, but in 1582 he had 2*l.*, which is 8 dead shares or 6 pays. His mates in 1586 are allotted 4 dead shares, making their monthly pay 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* against only 16*s.* 8*d.* in 1582. The swabber in the same way is increased from 9*s.* 2*d.* to 11*s.* 8*d.*, that is from a half to a whole dead

share. The pilot, on the other hand, is reduced from 20*s.* in 1582 to 15*s.* in 1586. The drum and fife are curiously raised from half a reward pay to a whole dead share.

In the absence, therefore, of further evidence it seems necessary to regard the system of pay by dead shares and rewards as continuing after 1582, and that not as a form of expression only but exactly as it had existed before.

One more scale of pay may be added. It is contained in some notes jotted down by Burghley on the fly-leaf of an account for ships in commission during 1585. Assigned to January, 1586, in the Domestic Calendar. They are as follows :—

The captain hath . .	18*s.*	per diem.
The master hath . .	40*s.*	the month.
The master's mate .	20*s.*	,,
Every of the 4 quarter-masters . . .	16*s.*	,,
The boatswain . .	13*s.* 4*d.*	,,
His mate . . .	10*s.*	,,
The medium before for every man . .	9*s.* 8*d.*	,,
The medium now shall be	14*s.* 8*d.*	,,
The surgeon . .	20*s.*	,,
The trumpeter . .	15*s.*	,,
The cockswain . .	10*s.*	,,
The steward . .	12*s.* 4*d.*	,,
The purser . . .	10*s.*	,,
Common mariner .	6*s.* 8*d.*	,,
Every man is allowed for victual . .	6*d.*	a-day.

From the notes about the new and old medium or average pay, it is clear Burghley was at the time considering Hawkyns's proposal. The last item

shows it is intended for the 1582 scale, but the items do not tally with any of rates in the schedule of that order. A cockswain was only allowed to the first three rates, and it may be intended as a rough average of these three rates. It is, however, of little importance except as further evidence that the scale of 1582 can never have been adhered to very strictly.

List of men fit to command ships.

THE NAMES OF SEA CAPTAINS

THE 5TH JANUARY ANNO 1585,[1] *VIZ.*:

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxvi. 8.**]

1.	1.	The Lord Howard, Lord Admiral
2.	2.	The Lord of Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain
3.	4.	The Lord Henry Seymour.
	3.	Lord Tho. Howard[2]
4.		[The Lord Stafford.]
	5.	Lord Sheffild[2]
erased] 5.		*Sir James Croft, Knight.*
6.	7.	Roger Manners, Esquire
7.	8.	Sir Walter Ralegh, Knight, ab.
absent 8.	6.	Sir John Perrot, Knight, ab.
[9.		Sir William Wynter, Knight]
10.	10.	Sir Richard Constable, Knight
ab. 11.	11.	Sir Richard Greynvile, Knight
12.	12.	Sir Henry Berkley, Knight
ab. 13.	9.	Sir Francis Drake, Knight
ab. 14.	13.	Sir Richard Bingham, Knight
15.	17.	Clement Paston, Esquire

[1] *I.e.* 1586. In this paper the names are spelt very fancifully.

[2] Inserted by Burghley.

16. 14. John Hawkyns, Esquire
17. William Holstok, Esquire
18. 16. George Beeston, Esquire
19. 15. Sir Henry Palmer, Esquire
18. Fulke Greville, Esquire
19. William Borough, Esquire
20. [22.] John Cobham, Esquire
21. [23.] Carew Ralegh, Esquire
22. [24.] Anthony Jenkinson, Esquire
23. [25.] Nicholas Gorges, Esquire
24. [26.] George Fenner, Esquire
ab. 25. [27.] Edward Wynter, Esquire
28. Cavendish, Esquire
29. Bristowe, Esquire
30. Bernard Drake, Esquire
ab. 31. John Wynter, Esquire
32. Benjamin Gonson, gent.
ab. 17. [33.] Martin Frobiser, gent.
ab. 18. [34.] Sir Francis Knollys, gent.
35. Henry Bellingham, gent.
36. William Hawkyns Senior, gent.
37. James More, gent.
38. William Wynter, gent.
39. John Henslow, gentleman
40. Christopher Baker, gent.
41. Gilbert Yorke, gentleman
42. Richard Drake, gent.
43. John Ralegh, gent.
44. George Ralegh, gent.
ab. 45. Christopher Carleill, gent.
ab. 46. Thomas Fenner, gent.
47. Edward Fenton, gent.
48. John Chester, gent.
49. William Fenner, gent.
50. Thomas Bellingham, gent.
51. Raymond, gent.
52. Henry Spert, gent.

53. Edward Gorges, gent.
ab. 54. John Vaughan, gent.
ab. 55. Thomas Drake, gent.
ab. 56. William Hawkyns, gent.
57. Hugh Drake, gent.
58. Drake, gent.
59. Ambrose Digbye, gent.
60. Thomas Bucke
61. Thomas Gurley
62. John Thomas
63. Thomas Hampton
64. Luke Ward
65. Barnaby Rich
66. Jeromy Turner
67. Powle Kempe
68. John Satchfield of Bristoe
69. John Hopkins of Bristoe
70. John Barker of Bristoe
71. John Yonge
72. John Hankin
73. Robert Jolley
74. Dufield
75. John Grey
ab. 76. Edward Moone

NOTE TO NAMES OF SEA CAPTAINS

Those marked with an asterisk occur also in 'A list of gentlemen and captains of the sea' (Stowe MSS. 570, f. 132) *circ.* 1577. Those marked with two asterisks are noted in the same list as 'having served.'

1. ** Charles Howard, second Lord Howard of Effingham, born 1536, appointed Lord High Admiral 1585. In 1570 he had been placed in command of the fleet mobilised to observe the Spanish fleet, which escorted the Queen of Spain from Flanders; but he had seen little or no active service at sea.

2. Henry Carey, first Lord Hunsdon. He had served as Warden of the East Marches; Governor of Berwick;

in Norfolk's rebellion, when he defeated Lord Dacres at Carlisle; Captain-General of the Marches, 1580; Lord Chamberlain, 1583. The Queen's first cousin, as son of Mary Boleyn.

3. * Henry Seymour, second son of the Earl of Hertford, who married Howard's sister, and grandson of the Duke of Somerset. Marked in the Stowe list as 'has not served, but fit to.'

3*a*. Lord Thomas Howard, son of the fourth Duke of Norfolk, and grandson of the Earl of Surrey. No previous service.

5. Edmund, Lord Sheffield, Howard's nephew. No service.

5*a*. * Sir James Croft. Siege of Boulogne 1544. Calais Marches 1550. Lord-Deputy of Ireland 1551. Convicted of treason under Mary, but appointed on Council of the North 1557. Warden of the Marches 1559. Dismissed for his conduct during the Scottish campaign 1560. Privy Councillor and Controller of the Household 1570. Was in receipt of a pension from Spain.

6. * Roger Manners, brother to the fourth Earl of Rutland. Had served in the New Bark in 1554. An assiduous courtier, and the Duke's regular correspondent. ('Belvoir Papers,' 62 *et passim*. 'Hist. MSS. Com.' xii. iv.)

7. * Sir Walter Ralegh, born about 1552, grandson of John Drake, of Exmouth. Had served with the Huguenots at Jarnac and Moncontour, and in the Low Countries with John Norreys in 1577–8. In 1578 had fitted out a maritime expedition with his half-brother Sir Humphry Gilberte, himself commanding a vessel. Taking of Smerwick in Ireland 1580. Knighted 1584. Captain of the Guard 1586.

8. Sir John Perrot, reputed natural son of Henry VIII., made by Elizabeth Vice-Admiral of South Wales Seas. First President of Munster; resigned the office in 1573. Commanded the Revenge and a squadron on the west coast of Ireland in 1579 to intercept Spanish transports. Captured a pirate on his return. Lord-Deputy of Ireland 1584, where he was serving at this time.

9. ** Sir William Wynter, Surveyor of the Ships at the Admiralty. A veteran naval officer, who had been serving continuously and with success for over forty years.

10. * Perhaps Sir Robert Constable, as in the Stowe list. Marshal or Chief of the Staff to Lord Grey in the Low Countries ('S. P. Dom.,' clxv. 46). He owned a vessel suspected of piracy in 1578 ('Hatfield Papers,' ii. 202). An officer of the Ordnance in 1587 ('S.P. Dom.' ccxviii 56).

11. Sir Richard Greynvile, said to have served against the Turks under Maximillan. Known to the Spanish Ambassador as a 'notable pirate.' Commanded the first expedition to Virginia in 1586. M.P. for Cornwall 1571 and 1584. Sheriff 1577.

12. Sir Henry Berkley, a commissioner for musters in the county of Somerset.

13. Sir Francis Drake, born about 1545. With Lovell in the West Indies in 1565–6; with Hawkyns in 1567; in the navy 1568; commanded three successful expeditions to the West Indies from 1570 to 1574, and a squadron under Essex in Ireland 1575. Voyage of circumnavigation 1577–80. Knighted 1581. Since then had been serving on a commission to reorganise the navy and promoting an expedition to seize the Azores.

14. Sir Richard Bingham, a famous soldier of fortune. Born 1528. Scotch campaign 1547. St. Quentin 1557. Naval expedition to 'Out Isles' of Scotland 1558. With Don John of Austria at Cyprus and Lepanto. Low Countries 1573 and 1578. Desmond rebellion 1579. Commanded the Swiftsure under Wynter against Smerwick 1580; a squadron against pirates 1583. Governor of Connaught in 1584, where he was now serving. Died as Marshal of Ireland 1599.

15. Clement Paston, born about 1515. Commanded the Pelican of Dantzig in the campaign 1545, and the prize galley Blancherd in 1546. Severely wounded at Pinkie 1547.

16. ** John Hawkyns, Treasurer of the Navy. Last active service had been in 1568, when his fleet was treacherously attacked and driven with heavy loss from the port of Mexico.

17. ** William Holstok had served as an Admiralty official since Henry VIII.'s time, and was now Controller of the Navy, 1561. Under Edward VI. he had commanded a naval squadron, and several times since.

18. ** Sir George Beeston commanded the Channel

Guard in 1562, and a ship in it under Nicholas Gorges in 1576; commanded the Dreadnought in 1588, and was knighted; commanded the Northern Squadron 1589.

19. ** Sir Henry Palmer commanded a squadron in 1576. Commissioner for Dover Harbour 1583–4. Channel Squadron 1587.

18*a*. Fulke Greville, Lord Brook, Sir Philip Sidney's friend and biographer, a favourite of the Queen; had seen no service afloat or ashore.

19*a*. William Borough, born 1536, younger brother of Stephen Borough. Was with Sir John Willoughby in the first Arctic expedition in 1553, and on similar voyages to the North-East and the Baltic in the service of the Muscovy Company for the next twenty years. In 1570 commanded a fleet to open the way through the Baltic to Nerva, the new Russian port, when he defeated Hans Snarke, a famous pirate admiral, and took him prisoner. Clerk of the Ships 1580. Controller of the Navy 1589. Continued to serve against pirates. Considered the highest authority on navigation and maritime affairs till Drake's circumnavigation.

20. John Cobham, commissioner for musters in Kent. Serving in the Low Countries with Norreys 1582. A correspondent of Burghley's.

21. Carew Ralegh, elder brother of Sir Walter. Served with the Humphry Gilberte in 1578, and prominent in the business of national defence, and maritime police in the West.

22. ** Anthony Jenkinson, the great traveller and diplomat. Began life in the Levant trade. Appointed Captain-General by the Muscovy Company and envoy to Ivan the Terrible 1557. Penetrated to Bokhara as Ivan's envoy, and opened up relations between Russia and the Khans of Central Asia. Captain of the Aid, cruising for pirates on W. Coast of Scotland, and to intercept Bothwell, 1565. Captured a pirate who had the same commission from the Warden of the Marches. Returned to Russia 1566 and 1571. About 1578 settled down to country life at Sigwell in Northamptonshire.

23. ** Nicholas Gorges, great-grandson of Sir Edmund Gorges, of Wraxall, in Somerset, and Anne, daughter of first Duke of Norfolk; so akin to the Queen and Howard. Had had command of a squadron in 1576.

24. George Fenner, of the famous Chichester family of shipowners and seamen. Like the Hawkynses of Plymouth, they were among the first to endeavour as a matter of right to force a trade with the Spanish and Portuguese colonies. He commanded expeditions to this end in the 'sixties,' mainly to the Gold Coast. Though less known than some, he was one of the finest of the Elizabethan captains, and certainly was the first to demonstrate the superiority of English tactics and seamanship by his action off the Azores in 1567, when with his flagship the Castle of Comfort and two small consorts, he fought seven Portuguese men-of-war all one day, and drove them off the next.

25. Edward Wynter. Probably a son or nephew of Sir William's. He was a correspondent of Walsyngham's. Antecedents unknown. Absent with Drake in command of the Aid.

26. Probably Thomas Cavendish, of Trimley, a Suffolk squire, who was the second English circumnavigator of the globe, 1586–8. Antecedents unknown.

30. Bernard Drake, of Ashe, in Devon, cousin of Sir Richard Greynvile; also claimed Sir Francis as cousin but the relationship is uncertain. Claimed to be head of the Drake family. Had just returned from Newfoundland, whither he had been sent to warn English vessels of the Spanish embargo, and to seize and destroy the Spanish fishing fleet. Knighted for his success. Died 1586.

31. John Wynter, nephew of Sir William. Drake's second in command in the voyage of circumnavigation. Having lost company after passing Magellan's Straits he returned home. Lieutenant of his uncle's ship in 1588.

32. Benjamin Gonson, grandson of William Gonson. Clerk of the Ships to Henry VIII. and son of Benjamin Gonson, who became Surveyor at the reorganisation of the Admiralty in 1546, Treasurer 1546, and died in 1577, when his son-in-law Hawkyns succeeded him. The younger Benjamin had already served as a captain under Borough on a cruise for pirates, 1583. Became Clerk of the Ships 1588.

33. Martin Frobiser, the famous Arctic explorer. Since the disappointing result of his last voyage to the North-West in 1578, he does not seem to have been

employed, nor as far as is known had he seen any naval service until made Drake's Vice-Admiral in 1585.

34. Sir Francis Knollys. The Queen's kinsman. And Privy Councillor and custodian of Mary Stuart, but as far as is known had seen no service at sea.

35. ** Henry Bellingham. Probably the Captain Bellingham concerned in piratical practices in 1579. Commanded the Rainbow in 1587, and a squadron of merchantmen 1588. 'A Queen's servant.'

36. William Hawkyns, Sir John's elder brother and partner. Active in all kinds of administrative capacities in Plymouth. Sea service unknown.

38. William Wynter, son of Sir William. Commanded the Foresight in 1587.

40. Christopher Baker. Probably one of the great shipbuilding family, and Royal shipwrights since Henry VIII.'s time. Several memorials of his from 1572 onwards exist deprecating consumption of oak timber in Sussex by iron smelting works. Granted reversion of Admiralty office of 'Keeper of the Store Houses' about 1575.

41. Gilbert Yorke. Commanded a vessel in Frobiser's second voyage to the North-West 1577. Vice-Admiral of the third voyage 1578. Captured the Charles Jones, the ship of Henry Porter, a pirate, 1584, in the Queen's pinnace Scout.

42. Richard Drake, of Esher in Surrey, son of Sir Bernard and Equerry to the Queen.

43 and 44. John and George Ralegh, elder half-brothers of Sir Walter.

45. Christopher Carleill, a son-in-law of Walsyngham's. Had served with distinction in the Low Countries and in Ireland, both by sea and land, absent as Drake's lieutenant-general.

46. ** Thomas Fenner, of Chichester, an officer much trusted by Drake and Walsyngham. With Drake 1585 and 1587. His vice-admiral 1588, and on Howard's Council of War. Besides Thomas there was William Fenner (No. 49) and Edward, who is not in the list. Both commanded Queen's ships in Drake's division 1588. In March 1585 both were suspected of cruising piratically in the galleon Fenner under Don Antonio's colours.

47. Edward Fenton, a soldier of fortune from his youth. Ireland in 1566. With Frobiser as a soldier in his second voyage to the North-West, and second in command and lieutenant-general in the third voyage. Ireland 1579. Commanded the disastrous expedition promoted by Leicester and others to follow up Drake's operations in the South Sea in 1581. Married Thomazin, daughter and co-heiress of Benjamin Gonson, and so brother-in-law of John Hawkyns.

48. John Chester. Served with Drake as a gentleman-volunteer in the voyage of circumnavigation, and completed it in the Golden Hind.

49. William Fenner, cousin of Thomas Fenner, and a favourite officer of Drake's.

50. George Raymond. Commanded the Elizabeth Bonaventure in 1588, and an expedition to the West Indies in 1591. See p. 162.

54. John Vaughan. Was absent with Drake as a gentleman-volunteer. Given the command of the French prize christened the Drake. A witness to Frobiser's slander of Drake.

55. Thomas Drake. The youngest and apparently sole survivor of Sir Francis's eleven brothers. Served in the voyage round the world. Absent with his brother as captain of the Thomas Drake.

56. William Hawkyns, son of the elder William and nephew of John Hawkyns. Served in the voyage round the world. Second in command and lieutenant-general in Fenton's voyage in 1581. Absent with Drake as captain of the galleot Duck.

57 and 58. Belonged probably to the Drakes of Ashe.

60. Thomas Bucke, of Southampton, recommended for employment to Burghley in 1576 by Gonson and Holstok, as one who had formerly served as a sea captain.

64. ** Luke Ward, a sea captain of experience. Employed against pirates in 1578. Vice-admiral in Fenton's voyage.

71. John Yonge. Probably the same who with Prouse directed the fire-ships against the Armada off Calais. He was an old sea-captain who had seen much service since Mary's time. A short autobiography by him recording his services is in 'S.P. Dom.' cclix. 48.

ORDNANCE REPORT[1]

I.

DECEMBER 30, 1585

[S.P. Dom. clxxxv. 34.]

Ordnance remaining aboard her Majesty's ships and Navy Royal, 1585, with a note of Sir William Wynter's proportion by him set down in anno 1569 for the full furniture of the said ships, and what is now wanting to accomplish the same, viz.:

The Elizabeth Jonas

Surplusage.		To be supplied.[2]	Sir W. Wynter's proportion.	Remaining aboard.
	Demi-Cannons . .	iiij^{or}	ix	v
	Cannon Periers . .	null	iiij	iiij
	Culverins . . .	iiij^{or}	xiiij	x
	Demi-culverins . .	null	vij	vij
j.	Sakers[3] . . .	vij	vj	null
	Minions . . .	ij	ij	null
	Falcons . . .	ij	viij	vj
	Portpieces . . .	null	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}
	Fowlers . . .	ix	x	j
	Bases (not in use) .	null	xij	v
		—	—	—
		28[4]	64	37

[1] See Appendix A.

[2] The Roman figures are written at a different time from the others.

[3] MS. Sacres.

[4] Totals in different hand. Bases not reckoned.

The Triumph

rplusage.		To be supplied.	Sir W. Wynter's proportion.	Remaining abroad.
	Demi-Cannons	ij	ix	vij
	Cannon periers	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}	null
	Culverins	x	xiij	iiij^{or}
	Demi-Culverins	iiij	vij	iij
ij.	Sakers	viij	vj	null
	Minions	null	ij	ij
	Portpieces	null	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}
	Fowlers	x	x	null
	Bases	null	xij	xij or muskets[1]
		38	58	20

The Bear

	Demi-Cannons	null	xj	xj
	Cannon periers	vj	vj	null
	Culverins	viij	xvij	ix
j.	Demi-Culverins	xj	x	null
vj.	Sakers	x	iiij^{or}	null
	Minions	null	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}
	Falcons	null	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}
	Portpieces	null	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}
	Fowlers	null	x	x
	Bases	null	xij	xij or muskets
		35	60	42

The Victory

	Demi-Cannons	vj	vj	null
	Cannon periers	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}	null
ij.	Culverins	xiiij	xij	null

[1] A breech-loading swivel top-piece, not the infantry weapon. (See Appendix A, p. 332.)

Surplusage.		To be supplied.	Sir W. Wynter's proportion.	Remaining abroad.
	Demi-Culverins	iiij^{or}	viij	iiij^{or}
ij.	Sakers	iiij^{or}	ij	null
	Minions	null	null	null
	Falcons	j	iiij^{or}	iij
	Portpieces	null	vj	vj
	Fowlers	null	x	x
	Bases	null	xij	xij or muskets
		33	52	23

The Hope

	Demi-Cannons	j	j	iij
	Cannon periers	ij	ij	null
	Culverins	vj	vj	null
i.	Demi-Culverins	xj	xj	null
	Sakers	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}	null
	Minions	ij	ij	null
	Falcons	j	j and a falconette	null a falconette
	Portpieces	null	iiij^{or}	iiij
	Fowlers	iiij^{or}	vj	ij
	Bases	null	xij	xij or muskets
		31	33	9

The Mary Rose

Demi-Cannons	null	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}
Cannon periers	ij	ij	null
Culverins	null	viij	viij
Demi-Culverins	ij	vj	iiij
Sakers	v	viij	iij
Minions	null	null	null

Surplusage.		To be supplied.	Sir W. Wynter's proportion.	Remaining abroad.
	Falcons	null	null	null
	Portpieces	null	ij	ij
	Fowlers	null	vj	vj
	Bases	null	iiij[or]	iiij or muskets
		9	36	27

The Nonpareil

	Demi-Cannons	iiij[or]	iiij[or]	null
	Cannon periers	ij	ij	null
	Culverins	iiij[or]	iiij[or]	null
	Demi-Culverins	v	vj	j
	Sakers	xij	xij	null
	Minions	null	j	j
j.	Falcons	ij	j	null
	Portpieces	null	iiij	iiij[or]
	Fowlers	null	vj	vj
	Bases	ij	xij	x or muskets
		29	40	12

The Lion

	Demi-Cannons	iij	iiij	j
	Cannon periers	iiij[or]	iiij	null
i.	Culverins	vij	vj	null
	Culverin periers	null	null	null
	Demi-Culverins	iiij[or]	viij	iiij[or]
ij.	Sakers	viij	vj	null
	Minions	null	null	null
	Falcons	ij	ij	null
	Portpieces	ij	iiij[or]	ij

Surplusage.		To be supplied.	Sir W. Wynter's proportion.	Remaining abroad.
iiij.	Fowlers	x	vj	null
	Bases	null	xij	xij or muskets
		41	40	7

The Revenge

Demi-Cannons	ij	ij	null
Cannon periers	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}	null
Culverins	x	x	null
Demi-Culverins	vj	vj	null
Sakers	viij	x	ij
Minions	null	null	null
Falcons	ij	ij	null
Portpieces	ij	ij	null
Fowlers	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}	null
Bases	null	vj	vj or muskets
	38	40	2

The Bonaventure

Demi-Cannons	ij	iiij^{or}	ij
Cannon periers	ij	ij	null
Culverins	iij	vj	ij
Demi-Culverins	viij	viij	null
Sakers	vj	vj	null
Minions	j	ij	j
Falcons	ij	ij	null
Portpieces	null	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}
Fowlers	iij	vj	iij
Bases	null	xij	xij or muskets
	48	40	12

The Dreadnought

urplusage.		Remaining aboard.	Sir W. Wynter's proportion.	To be supplied.
	Cannon periers	ij	ij	null
	Culverins	iij	iiij[or]	j
	Demi-Culverins	ix	x	j
	Sakers	vj	vj	null
	Minions	null	null	null
	Falcons	ij	ij	null
	Portpieces	null	ij	ij
	Fowlers	viij	viij	null
	Bases	null	viij	viij or muskets
		—	—	—
		30	34	4

The Swiftsure

Cannon periers	ij	ij	null
Culverins	iiij[or]	iiij[or]	null
Demi-Culverins	vij	viij	j
Sakers	viij	viij	null
Minions	null	null	null
Falcons	iiij[or]	iiij[or]	null
Portpieces	null	ij	ij
Fowlers	vj	vj	null
Bases	null	viij	viij
	—	—	—
	31	34	3

The Antelope

	Cannon periers	null	ij	ij
	Culverins	ij	ij	null
	Demi-Culverins	vj	vj	null
3	Sakers	ix	vj	null
	Minions	j	ij	j x

Surplusage.		Remaining abroad.	Sir W. Wynter's proportion.	To be supplied.
	Falcons	ij	ij	null
	Portpieces	ij	iiij^{or}	ij
	Fowlers	iij	iiij^{or}	j
	Bases	null	x	x
		25	28	6

The Swallow

	Cannon periers	null	ij	ij
	Demi-Culverins	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}	null
4	Sakers	xij	viij	null
2	Minions	iiij^{or}	ij	null
	Falcons	vj	vj	null
	Portpieces	null	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}
4	Fowlers	viij	iiij^{or}	null
	Bases	null	x	x
		34	30	6

The Foresight

	Culverins	null	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}
i.	Demi-Culverins	ix	viij	null
	Sakers	viij	viij	null
	Minions	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}	null
1	Falcons	j	null	null
	Portpieces	null	ij	ij
1	Fowlers	iij	ij	null
	Bases	null	viij	viij
		25	28	6

The Aid

	Demi-Culverins	null	ij	ij
	Sakers	viij	viij	null

Surplusage.		Remaining abroad.	Sir W. Wynter's proportion.	To be supplied.
4	Minions	vj	ij	null
	Falcons	iiij^{or}	vj	ij
	Falconets	null	j	j
	Portpieces	null	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}
	Fowlers } Iron [1]	ij	viij	vj
	Bases } Iron [1]	ij	viij	vj
		20	30	15

The Bull

2	Demi-Culverins	viij	vj	null
	Sakers	vj	viij	ij
2	Minions	iiij^{or}	ij	null
1	Falcons	ij	j	null
	Falconets	null	null	null
	Fowlers	ij	iiij	ij
	Portpieces	null	null	null
	Bases	ij	iiij	ij
		22	21	4

The Tiger

j.	Demi-Culverins	vij	vj	—[2]
	Sakers	vij	x	—
ij.	Minions	iiij	ij	—
	Falcons	j	ij	—
	Falconets	—	null	—
	Portpieces	null	null	—
	Fowlers	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}	—
	Bases	—	iiij^{or}	—
		23	24	

[1] MS. 'yeron.'
[2] Third column blank.

The Scout

	Remaining abroad.	Sir W. Wynter's proportion.	To be supplied.
Sakers	viij	viij	null
Minions	ij	ij	null
Falcons	vj	vj	null
Falconets	ij	ij	null
Fowlers	null	ij	ij
Bases	null	vj	vj
	18	20	2

The Achates

Sakers	ij	ij	null
Minions	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}	null
Falcons	x	x	null
Falconets	null	null	null
Fowlers	null	ij	ij short
Bases	null	iiij^{or}	iiij^{or}
	16	28	2

The Merlin

Falcons	vj	vj	null
Falconets	ij	ij	null
Fowlers	null	ij	ij short
Bases	null	ij	ij
	8	10	2

Remaining aboard . . v^{c}lxij.
To be supplied . . . ccxlj.

ORDNANCE REPORT.[1]

II.

[**S.P. Dom. clxxxvii. 44.**]

The 18th of March, 1585 [*i.e.* 1586.]

	Brass ordnance delivered into the office of the Ordnance of the Tower in anno 1569, viz.		Brass ordnance aboard the ships lying upon wharves, &c., by Mr. Powell's[2] book and my survey	Wants	Supplied by the office of the Ordnance since anno 1569
Brass ordnance serviceable	Cannons	2	1	1	0
	Demi-cannons	38	36	2	0
	Culverins	57	78	0	21
	Demi-culverins	74	105	0	31
	Cannon periers	22	32	0	10
	Culverin periers[3]	2	2	0	0
	Sakers	100	132	0	32
	Minions	18	34	0	16
	Falcons	47	60	0	13
	Falconets	10	10	0	0
	Port pieces	0	26	0	26
	Fowlers	0	91	0	91
		370	607	3	240
					3
					237

[1] Endorsed by Burghley 'A note of ordnance (brass and forged iron) delivered by Sir William Wynter, 1569.'

[2] John Powell, Surveyor of the Ordnance.

[3] Probably an experimental piece. It occurs in none of the text-books nor in any other list. The name implies an attempt to combine the range and penetration of the culverin with the lightness of a perier. Presumably the attempt was unsuccessful, as no more were made.

Cast iron delivered then serviceable:

56 pieces of cast iron ordnance serviceable.	Culverins	4
	Demi-culverins	23
	Sakers	23
	Falcons	4
	Falconets	2

Forged iron serviceable delivered then. viz.:

314 pieces of forged iron ordnance serviceable.	Portpieces having 137 chambers belonging to them	70
	Fowlers having 165 chambers to them	69
	Bases, double and single, having 412 chambers to them	134
	Wagon bases[1] having 75 chambers to them	37
	Demi-slings having their chambers	4

Brass ordnance[2] *being broken delivered by me to the said office at that time, viz.:*

2 pieces of brass ordnance unserviceable	Minions	1
	Falcons	1

Cast iron ordnance delivered into the Tower at the time aforesaid, viz.:

8 pieces of cast iron unserviceable	Demi-culverins	4
	Sakers	2
	Single bases	2

[1] Bases on field carriages.

[2] According to Lucar (*Tartaglia's Colloquies*, Appendix p. 34), English brass ordnance was composed in the proportion of 100 lbs. copper, 8 lbs. clean tin, and 10 lbs. of an alloy called 'latten,' the nature of which is unknown. Lucar says: 'The latten helpeth much to incorporate the metals together, and maketh the mixture to be of a good colour.' He does not entirely approve the mixture, for he says pieces cast of it 'are apt to break after they are made hot with many shoots.'

Forged ordnance delivered then:

243 pieces forged iron unserviceable

Portpieces	8	
Fowlers	7	
Bases having 122 chambers belonging to them	175	
Wagon bases	27	
Demi-slings chambers	38	
Quarter-slings halls	26	

[*Gun Metal*]

Molten metal of brass ordnance that belonged to her Majesty's ship the Hart,[1] in anno 1564, and delivered into the Office of the Tower.

Item in remnant of pieces, 307 cwt. 3 qrs. 18 lbs. *in brass*[2]

[*Obsolete Pieces.*]

Ordnance (*of forged iron*)[2] not serviceable, delivered into the office of the Ordnance in the Tower in anno 1567.

Portpieces	26	
Fowlers	26	
Three-quarter slings	13	
Half-slings	18	334
Quarter-slings	15	
Serpentines	4	
Double bases and single	232	
Portpiece chambers and Fowlers	70	
Sling chambers	75	316
Base chambers	171	

[1] Probably Henry VIII.'s 'galleasse,' built in 1546. She is not mentioned in Mr. Oppenheim's list of Elizabeth's ships, but clearly must have once formed part of her navy.

[2] Burghley's hand.

ARMAMENT FOR NEW SHIPS

[S.P. Dom. clxxxvii. 65.]

28 of March, 1586.

A declaration made by me, Sir William Wynter, Knt., what ordnance as well brass as cast iron is to be prepared for the furnishing both of her Highness's ship the Tiger, as also the rest of the ships and pinnaces here underwritten now in new building:

Ships	Demi-cannons	Culverins	Demi-culverins	Sakers	Falcons	Falconets	Brass [1]	
							Fowlers	Bases
The Tiger . .	—	4	8	8	2	—	2	6
The galleon P. Pett at Deptford [2] .	8	10	14	2	2	—	—	18
The Galleon Ma Baker at Woolwich [3] . . .	8	10	14	2	2	—	—	18
The Bark Chapman at Deptford [4] .	—	—	4	4	2	—	2	6
The Bark P. Peter at Deptford [5] . .	—	—	—	6	2	—	2	6
The Bark Baker at Woolwich [6] . .	—	—	2	4	2	—	2	6
The Pinnace Borough at Chatham [7] .	—	—	1	2	2	—	2	6
The Pinnace Baker at Woolwich [8] .	—	—	1	2	2	—	2	6
The Pinnace Wynter at Woolwich [9] .	—	—	1	2	—	—	—	10
The Pinnace Peter Pett at Deptford [10]	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	4
Two pinnaces by Willm. Pett at Limehouse [11] .	—	—	—	8	—	4	—	12
Totals of ships and pinnaces . 12	16	24	45	40	18	6	12	100
							Brass	

*** For Notes, see next page.

Note that towards the furnishing of the aforesaid number her Highness hath in store 18 pieces, viz., Falcons 12 and Falconets 6.

[NAVY LIST.[12]]

At Chatham, Woolwich, and the Seas:

The Triumph.	The Dreadnought.
The Elizabeth.	The Swiftsure.
The Bear.	The Swallow.
The Victory.	The Antelope.
The Hope.	The Foresight.
The Nonpareil.	The Bull.
The Mary Rose.	The Scout.
The Revenge.	The Achates.
The Lion.	The Merlin.

The Galley Eleanor.[13]

In Ireland

The George a hoy. The Handmaid.

In the West Country

The Tiger.

[1] Burghley's hand.

[2] The Rainbow, 500 tons. The use of the word 'galleon' as a technical shipwright's term should be noted. See Appendix B.

[3] The Vanguard, 500 tons. [4] The Tramontana, 150 tons.

[5] The Moon, 60 tons. [6] The Charles, 70 tons.

[7] Probably the Sun, 40 tons. [8] The Advice, 50 tons.

[9] Probably the one by Ady (see list next page), perhaps the same as the Seven Stars of Mr. Oppenheim's list (*Administration of Navy*, p. 120).

[10] Possibly the Trust or the Popinjay.

[11] Makeshift, 60 tons, and Spy, 50 tons.

[12] This list is written on the back of one of the leaves of the foregoing Ordnance Report, No. II. It has a blank column as though the intention was to insert the armament of each ship. The mention of the Bonaventure and the Aid fixes its date as 1585–6.

[13] See notes *ante*, pp. 280, 283, for other instances of the Bonavolia retaining her old name after rebuilding.

With Sir Fra. Drake

The Elizabeth Bonaventure. The Aid.

Ships, barks, and pinnaces in new[1] *making :*

The Galleon at Woolwich.
The Galleon at Deptford.
The Bark in Chapman's yard.
The Bark in Deptford, P[eter] P[ett].
The Bark at Woolwich, M[atthew] B[aker].
A pinnace at Chatham, M.B.
A pinnace by John Ady.
A pinnace at Limehouse, W[illiam] P[ett].
A pinnace at Woolwich, M.B.

Pinnaces of late new made :

[2] The Brigantine.
[3] The Cygnet.
[4] The Talbot.

[1] MS. 'now.' See notes to list p. 312.
[2] Built 1583.
[3] Built, 1585, by William Pett.
[4] Built, 1585, by R. Chapman; does not occur in navy lists.

APPENDIX A

GUNS AND GUNNERY IN THE TUDOR NAVY

I. Natures of Ordnance

In the present day the most striking feature of Tudor naval ordnance is the existence of a primary and a secondary armament, corresponding very closely to the system of our own time. Though for some reason that is difficult to fathom, the system disappeared from large vessels about the close of the Elizabethan period, and was not revived till a few years ago, it is certain that during the whole of the last half of the sixteenth century ships were furnished with a primary armament of muzzle-loading guns in battery, and a secondary armament of breech-loading guns mounted upon the superstructure and tops. Further than this, the breech-loading guns were provided with two or more movable powder-chambers, corresponding to the modern cartridge-case, which could be inserted in the breech in rapid succession, and as all these guns were mounted on swivels, and some other non-recoil system, and did not require relaying after each discharge, they thus were in the main essentials quick-firers. Their breech mechanism was of course crude and clumsy, and their rate of fire very slow, but as compared with the muzzle-loaders of the battery it was fast, and judged by the standard of those times they differed hardly at all, either in conception or practice, from the modern quick-firer and machine gun.

Hardly less striking is the fact that this division into primary and secondary, or M.L. and B.L., guns was not recognised by the artillerists of the time in the classifica-

tions of the natures of guns. The classifications adopted by them were two only. The first was on the basis of length to calibre. The second on the basis of metal to weight of shot.

From the first classification were obtained four main natures: (1) Culverins (Low-Latin *colubrinus*, serpentine or snake-like), long guns of high velocity, range, and penetration; (2) Cannons, the normal battering guns; (3) Periers (Italian *Petriero*, or stone gun), short light pieces of small range, corresponding to carronades or howitzers, and used in the sea-service mainly with 'carcase' or other man-killing projectiles; and (4) Mortars (so called from the vessel *mortarium* which they resembled in form, but also apparently connected with the idea of *mors*, *meurtrier*, murderer). These were very short guns, used in the sea-service in-board to repel boarders, and almost exclusively with 'murdering,' 'dice,' or other kinds of grape-shot, as man-killers. Both these and periers were also used for discharging 'fireworks'—that is, incendiary projectiles. It was this classification that was in practical use with English artillerists.

The second was more theoretical, but was also recognised by experts, and is worth giving, as enabling us to understand the bewildering complication of names that are met with in those times. From this second classification on the basis of metal to weight of shot, which we may call Norton's, since it first appears definitely in his 'Gunner' published in 1628, we obtain the following three classes:

Class	Thickness of metal in calibres		
	Touch-hole	Trunnions	Muzzle
1. Legitimate or ordinary fortified	$\frac{7}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{1}{4}$
2. Bastard or lessened	$\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{9}{16}$	$\frac{3}{16}$
3. Extraordinary or double fortified	1	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{7}{16}$

Each of the classes, both in the first and the second

system, included a number of different guns, each bearing its own individual name according to its size. It is chiefly this bewildering multiplicity of nomenclature that has kept the subject in so much obscurity and confusion, but there is also another source of difficulty hardly less formidable. This is the wide variations of measurement that are found in each nature. Scarcely two tables that have come down to us agree in their details, and this has led many to despair of unravelling the system. The discrepancies of measurement however were not due solely to the lack of a fixed system, but largely to the shortcomings of manufacturers. 'Through an intolerable fault of careless or unskilful gun-founders,' says Lucar in his 'Appendix to Tartaglia's Colloquies,' 'all our great pieces of one name are not of one length, nor of one weight, nor of one height in their mouths [calibre]; and therefore the gunners' books, which do show that all our pieces of one name are of an equal length and of an equal weight, and of an equal height in their mouths are erroneous.' Foreign ordnance, he says, was worse in this respect than English, and this we may well believe; for the Italian galleasses attached to the Armada, which were regarded as the highest efforts of the Mediterranean school, carried battery guns of nominally six different natures, but the shot for them were of twice as many sizes.[1] With the weight of the guns it was the same. 'The founders,' wrote Sir George Carew to Sir Robert Cecil in 1594, 'never cast them [*i.e.* demi-culverins, of which he is speaking] so exactly but that they differ two or three hundredweight in a piece; but 28 cwt. is sufficient for a ship demi-culverin.'[2] Here then we have an explanation of the apparent confusion of the authorities, and bearing in mind the possibility of all kinds of variations from the normal measurements we may proceed to attempt a tabulation.

From the first system we obtain the following table, derived mainly from the data of Robert Norton, but checked and amplified for various other contemporary treatises and official ordnance papers:

[1] Duro. *Armada Invencible*, ii., Doc. 39.

[2] *Domestic Calendar*, 31 July, 1594. Carew was then Lieutenant of the Ordnance.

Nature	Name	Loading	Calibre	Weight of Shot	Length	Range: Point-blank	Range: Extreme
			Inches	Lbs.			
Culverins, 32–34 calibres	Whole culverin	M.L.	5–5½	17	about 13 ft.	400	2,500
	Demi-culverin	M.L.	4½	9	,, 12 ft.	400	2,500
	Saker	M.L.	3½	5	,, 11 ft.	340	1,700
	Minion	M.L.	3	4	,, 8 ft.	320	1,600
	Falcon	M.L.	2½	3	,, 7 ft.	300	1,500
	Falconet	M.L.	2	1½	,, 6½ ft.	280	1,400
	Robinet	M.L.	1	1	—	240	1,000
	Base	B.L.	1¼	—	,, 4 ft.	—	—
	Its chamber	—	—	—	9 in.	—	—
Cannons, 18–20 calibres	Double cannon or cannon royal	M.L.	8½	65	12–13 ft.	—	2,000
	Whole cannon	M.L.	8	60	11 ft.	340	2,000
	Demi-cannon	M.L.	6½–7	30	10 ft.	340	1,700
	Quarter-cannon	M.L.	—	—	—	—	—
Periers, 6–8 calibres	Cannon perier	M.L.	6	24	—	320	1,600
	Perier proper, or d-cannon perier	M.L.	? 5	—	—	—	—
	Portpiece	B.L.	5½	—	—	—	—
	Its chamber	—	3½	—	16 in.	—	—
	Stock fowler	B.L.	? 4	—	—	—	—
	Whole sling	B.L.	2½	2½	—	—	—
	Its chamber	—	—	—	22 in.	—	—
	Three-quarter-sling	B.L.	? 2	—	—	—	—
	Half-sling	B.L.	? 1½	—	—	—	—
	Quarter-sling	B.L.	? 1	—	—	—	—
Mortars, about 1⅓ calibre	Mortar proper	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Petard	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Murderer	B.L.	—	—	—	—	—
	Bombard	—	—	—	—	—	—

The above table must not be received as one that would have been drawn up by an expert at any given period of Elizabeth's reign. The difficulty of preparing such a list is, as will be shown, almost insuperable. From decade to decade continual changes took place: some natures went out of fashion and new ones were introduced; of these some never passed the experimental stage, while others became popular. Measurements of particular pieces changed; names were even shifted from one nature to another. The schedule therefore must only be taken as showing at a glance the various kinds of ordnance which

were in general use for the sea-service and coast defence during the progress of the Spanish War.

At its opening the complication of types, as the text-books present them to us, was far greater than appears from the above list. Besides the pieces there scheduled Lucar, whose work was published in 1588, gives a number of others. 'Our great pieces,' he says, 'are known by these names:

Double cannon of the biggest sort.
Double cannon of the ordinary sort.
French double cannon.
Demi-cannon of the biggest sort.
Demi-cannon of the ordinary sort.
Demi-cannon of an extraordinary sort.
French demi-cannon.
Cannon with a bell bore.
Cannon with a chamber bore.
Basilisk.
Culverin of the biggest.
Culverin of the ordinary sort.
Culverin of an extraordinary sort.
Demi-culverin of the biggest sort.
Demi-culverin of the ordinary sort.
Demi-culverin of an extraordinary sort.
Sakers of the biggest sort.
Sakers of the ordinary sort.
Sakers of an extraordinary sort.
Minions of the biggest sort.
Minions of the ordinary sort.
Mojanes.
Passavolantes or Zebratanas.
Falcons of the ordinary sort.
Falcons of an extraordinary sort.
Falconets.
Cannon periers of the old making.
Cannon periers of the new making.
Mortar pieces.
Bases.
Robinets.
Fowlers.
Slings.
Portpieces.

Rebadochinos.
Aspidi.
Smeriglios.
Harquebus-à-crock.
Muskets.'

All these were 'great-pieces,' that is, artillery as distinguished from small-arms, the harquebus-à-crock and the musket being used in ships'-tops or as wall-pieces, like our machine guns. Such a multiplicity of natures points to a great confusion. Lucar does not attempt a classification. We do not even know whether his three 'sorts' merely refer to variations of calibre or whether to variations in the weight of metal according to the second classification. At first sight it would look as though his 'biggest,' 'ordinary,' and 'extraordinary' bore some relation to Norton's 'legitimate,' 'bastard,' and 'extraordinary.' But this can hardly be so; for Lucar in his chapter on 'The proportioned length, just weight and due thickness of metal,' gives but one proportion of metal to calibre and not three. His scheme is as under:—

——	Touch-hole	Trunnions	Muzzle
For all natures of culverins .	$1\frac{1}{8}$	$6\frac{3}{4}$	$\frac{3}{8}$
For all natures of cannon .	$1\frac{1}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$	$\frac{3}{8}$
Basilisks.	$1\frac{9}{22}$	$\frac{41}{44}$	$\frac{5}{11}$
Periers (old making) . .	$\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{4}$	$\frac{1}{6}$

This single system of distributing metal which he recognises thus gives higher figures than Norton's class of 'extraordinary or Double fortified,' and bears no relation either to it or to either of the others. We must conclude that Norton's classification was unknown to Lucar. Still there can be little doubt that the characteristic of many of Lucar's natures was distribution or weight of metal, and not calibre only; for we find that many of his strangely named pieces are classed by Norton as special natures, derived from the relation of metal to shot.

Lucar's list is certainly in a great measure academic. It is immediately followed by his remark about the irregular work of the gun-founders, and to enforce his

point he probably included every kind of gun, whether obsolete or not, which he could hear of as existing in England. In William Bourne's 'Art of Shooting in great Ordnance,' a practical treatise, which he published in 1587, the year before Lucar's, there is a list of guns actually in use, which clears the subject of much of its complication. It is as follows:

	Calibre	Shot		Length	Approximate Weight of Piece
		Diameter	Weight		
	Inches	Inches	Lbs.	Feet	Lbs.
1. Eldest double cannon	$8\frac{1}{4}$	8	70	12	8,000
2. Ordinary double cannon	8	$7\frac{3}{4}$	64	$11\frac{1}{2}$–12	7,500
3. French double cannon	$7\frac{3}{4}$	$7\frac{1}{2}$	58	$11\frac{1}{2}$–12	7,000
1. Demi-cannon	[1] $6\frac{3}{4}$	$6\frac{1}{2}$	38	11–12	6,000
2. Demi-cannon	[1] $6\frac{1}{2}$	$6\frac{1}{4}$	33	10–11	5,500
3. Demi-cannon	[1] $6\frac{1}{4}$	6	26	10–11	5,000 / 5,400
4. French demi-cannon	6	$5\frac{3}{4}$	—	—	5,000
1. Narborough[2] culverins	$5\frac{1}{2}$	$5\frac{1}{4}$	20	12–13	4,800
2. Ordinary whole culverins	$5\frac{1}{4}$	5	17	12–13	4,500
3. Culverins	5	$4\frac{3}{4}$	15	varied	4,300
1. Demi-culverins (elder)	$4\frac{3}{4}$	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$12\frac{1}{2}$	12	3,200
2. Demi-culverins (ordinary)	$4\frac{1}{2}$	$4\frac{1}{4}$	$10\frac{3}{4}$	10	27 cwt.
3. Do. (lower than ordinary)	$4\frac{1}{4}$	4	$8\frac{3}{4}$	9	22 cwt.
1. Sakers	4	$3\frac{3}{4}$	7	9–10	1,800
2. Sakers	$3\frac{3}{4}$	$3\frac{1}{2}$	6	8–9	1,500
3. Sakers	$3\frac{1}{2}$	$3\frac{1}{4}$	5–$5\frac{1}{2}$	8	1,300 / 1,400
1. Minions	$3\frac{1}{4}$	3	$3\frac{3}{4}$	8	1,000
2. Minions	3	$2\frac{1}{4}$	3	8	—
Falcons	$2\frac{3}{4}$	2 [3]	$2\frac{1}{8}$	7	700 / 750
Falconet	$2\frac{1}{4}$	2	$1\frac{1}{8}$	—	360 / 400

One more list may be added to show what English ordnance had become theoretically by the end of the war. It appears in Norton's work, and in giving it he says: 'I have here also added the usual table for English ordnance, wherein I acknowledge some errors are, because exactness

[1] Misprinted '5' in the original. [2] *I.e.* Nuremberg.

[3] A misprint for $2\frac{1}{2}$. In his table of shot weights a $2\frac{1}{2}$-inch shot weighs 2 lb. 2 oz.

in tables of this nature is not to be expected by reason of the infinite diversities of materials and accidents.' The chief errors, however, which he points out and corrects are in the powder charges, and these are here omitted. Roberts gives the same table, so that it is the one which must have been regarded as the most correct for the first quarter at least of the seventeenth century.

The Usual Table for English Ordnance

	Calibre	Weight of Shot	Length of Piece	Weight of Piece
	Inches	Lbs.	Feet	Lbs.
Cannon royal	8	63	12	8,000
Cannon	7	39	11	7,000
Demi-cannon	6½	30	10	6,000
Culverin	5	15	9	4,300
Culverin	5¼	15½	10	4,400
Culverin	5½	20	11	4,600
Demi-culverin	4¼	9	7	2,200
Demi-culverin	4½	10½	8	2,400
Demi-culverin	4¾	11½	9	2,500
Saker	3¼	5	9	2,400
Saker	3¾	5¼	9	1,500
Saker	4	5½	9	1,600
Minion	3	3	7½	1,200
Falcon	2¾	2	7	700
Falconet	2¼	1¾	6	500
Rabinet	1½	¾	4	300
Base	1¼	½	3	200

NOTE.—The 'height of shot' column is omitted. Read with the 'calibre' column it allows in all cases a windage of ¼ inch.

From these two lists we can begin to get a much simpler view of Elizabethan guns. The variations in the main classes were chiefly a matter of a quarter of an inch more or less in calibre, arising from the practice of the various gun-founders, and partially no doubt from different theories of windage. For purposes of practical classification they may certainly be discarded, and we are thus able to reduce the cannon class to two main natures (cannon and demi-cannon), and the culverin class to six natures (whole culverins, demi-culverins, sakers, minions, falcons, and falconets).

Periers and mortars, as well as the ordinary breech-loading pieces, must, of course, be added, and we thus obtain a list which reconciles the apparent confusion of the text-books with the actual simplicity of the Naval Ordnance reports.

To the student familiar with the pedantic intricacy of the contemporary treatises this comparative simplicity of the English naval armament is a very striking fact. During the few years immediately preceding the outbreak of the war the Queen's navy had been entirely re-armed with brass guns, and in the process of re-armament a great advance in simplicity had been secured.

In the armament of three ships of the middle sort mobilised in 1576 only seven kinds of M.L. ordnance appear, a demi-cannon perier being one ('Stowe MSS.,' 570, f. 151), and from the Ordnance Reports in the text (p. 300 *et seq.*) it will be seen that by the opening of the war the armament of the royal navy had been permanently reduced to a dozen different natures, corresponding very closely with Bourne's list, viz.—eight natures of battery guns: demi-cannons, cannon periers, culverins, demi-culverins, sakers, minions, falcons, and falconets; and four natures of secondary guns: portpieces, fowlers, bases, and muskets. In the scheme of armaments for the vessels turned out in 1586–7 we see a tendency to further simplification. Falconets are confined to pinnaces and the secondary guns reduced to two natures, fowlers and bases. Again in the naval programme, drawn up in 1588 after the Armada had revealed Spain's unsuspected power at sea, there is a still further advance. In the scheme of armament the battery guns for all types are confined to four natures: demi-cannons, culverins, demi-culverins, and sakers. ('S.P. Dom.' cxxxvi. 60, December 1588.)

It is evident then that we may discard for our present purpose the elaborate classification which the Elizabethans derived from Italian writers as mere pieces of professional pedantry, academical attempts, in fact, to classify all known natures of ordnance in a single list. The classification itself, however, as showing the scientific and theoretical aspect of the question, is too interesting to be omitted. It is of importance, too, as we shall see, for the new measure-

ments that had come to attach to the old names. It is as follows:

I. Modern legitimate or ordinary fortified.

Cannon	48 pdrs.	18 cal. long.
Demi-cannon	24 „	20 „
Quarter-cannon	12 „	25 „
Culverins	16 „	28 „
Demi-culverin	8 „	30 „
Sakers (quarter-culverin)	6 „	32 „
Falcons	36 to 50	„
Falconets	„	„
Robinets	„	„
Bases	„	„

II. Bastard or lessened; hybrids between cannon and culverin, shorter and less fortified than Class I.

Basilisk (bastard double culv.)	48 pdrs.	26 cal.
Serpentine (bastard culverin)	24 „	27 „
Aspick (bastard demi-culverin)	12 „	28 „
Pelican (bastard saker)		29 „
Bastard falcon	3 „	30 „
Bastard robinet	1½ „	31 „

III. Extraordinary or double fortified; extra long culverins:

Flying dragon	32 pdrs.	29 cal.
Siren	16 „	40 „
Passavolante	7½ „	41 „
Saker extraordinary	4 „	42 „
Falcon extraordinary	2 „	43 „
Robinet extraordinary	1 „	44 „

Having thus cleared the ground of purely theoretical technicalities, we are in a better position to get a correct view of the ordnance actually in use in the Elizabethan navy.

The first point to determine, if possible, is the reason why, in almost every list that has survived, the measurements of calibre, length, and weight differ. Three causes existed for these discrepancies: 1. Uncertainty as to the proper amount of windage. 2. Uncertainty as to the

advantages of long guns over short, and *vice versa*. 3. The continually improving strength of powder. 4. Changes of nomenclature.

1. *Windage.*—Roberts, writing in 1639, tells us the 'allowance for vent,' *i.e.* windage, should be $\frac{1}{4}$ inch between the diameter of the bore and that of the bullet. Others however, he says, are of opinion that it should be $\frac{3}{20}$ of the bore. Between these two opinions there was room for wide variations of measurement. Take for example the normal culverin. Sheriffe's undated list (printed in Professor Laughton's appendix to the 'Defeat of the Armada,' II. 350) gives this as a $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch $17\frac{1}{3}$-pounder. By Lucar's table of shot weights an iron 5-inch shot weighed a trifle over 17 lbs. 15 oz., so that Sheriffe must have been allowing a windage of over $\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Take again his cannon, which he makes an 8-inch 60-pounder. Lucar gives a $7\frac{1}{2}$-inch shot as a little over $60\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., so here also Sheriffe's windage is over $\frac{1}{2}$-inch. Norton and Roberts make a $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch culverin a 20-pounder, which by Lucar's table gives a windage of a trifle over $\frac{1}{4}$-inch. An 8-inch gun they make a 63-pounder, which gives by the same table a windage of about $\frac{5}{8}$-inch. As will presently be shown there is reason to believe that Sheriffe's list is considerably earlier than the re-armament of the navy. In any case at the beginning of the war it would seem that the windage allowance was even less than this. For Lucar distinctly says (chap. 51, note), 'A fit pellet (as our English gunners do say) is $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch less or shorter in his diameter than the height of the concavity in his piece'—*i.e.* the calibre. High-German gunners, he says, fixed it at $\frac{1}{20}$ of the calibre. William Bourne in 1587 confirms Lucar's statement of the practice of English gunners at that time, and in his gunnery table allows $\frac{1}{4}$ inch between the height of the shot and the calibre in every case. Bourne's table of shot weights differs considerably from Lucar's, and in every case gives the diameter at a higher figure. So that were we to judge Sheriffe's figures by Bourne's table, his windage would come out smaller. Which of the two is the more accurate table is hard to say. Bourne, except in the smallest shot, gives all his weights without fractions, and most probably they are all mean results obtained by actual weighing. Lucar on the other hand gives his weights to the millionth

part of a grain, and tells us his results are derived by calculation from one known case upon the rule that round shot vary as the cube of their diameters.

We thus see that in windage allowance there is enough to account for the varying relations of shot weight to calibre, which appear in different tables. And further, it is clear that on the above evidence that it is necessary to modify Professor Laughton's conclusion, that 'the minimum windage prescribed was one-fourth the bore of the gun, and as much more as pleased the gunner.'

2. *Length.*—In all the text-books of these times are to be found discussions as to the best length for various natures of ordnance, so as to secure the most perfect combustion of the powder charge, and most of them resolve themselves into strictures on ignorant gunners, who have a perverse idea that the longer was the gun, the further it carried. On the whole, however, we find a very fair uniformity. Cannons range from 11 feet to 12 feet, culverins from 12 feet to 13 feet, sakers and minions about 8 feet. In demi-culverins we find the largest margin, for Bourne puts them at 12 feet, 10 feet, and 9 feet. This, however, is easily explained. In the sea-service the demi-culverin was the favourite broadside gun for the upper tier, and the navy men soon found that ships gained in easiness and the pieces themselves in handiness by being made much shorter than the normal land-service weapon of the same nature. In the naval programme of 1588 all culverins and demi-culverins were specified as 9 feet long, so that the sea-service culverin became a bastard piece about 28 calibres in length; and although the craze for long guns was never entirely stamped out, this bastard type seems to have been favoured by all the best authorities during Elizabeth's time. Even cannons, it would appear, were also subjected to the same process; for at the Woolwich Rotunda is a 7-inch cannon (No. $\frac{3}{5}$) marked E.R., which is only $9\frac{1}{2}$ feet long, as against the normal 11 feet. The process probably began during the re-arming of the navy, for as early as 1587 Bourne expressly recommends short ordnance for the broadside, and the restriction of long guns to 'chasing pieces' fore and aft.

3. *Weight.*—The general tendency of sixteenth century gun-founders was to increase the weight of metal in order

to keep pace with the improved manufacture of gunpowder. Norton tells us that a hundred or a hundred and fifty years before his time ordnance was bad and weak because powder was weak, and that in his time they gave guns two and three times more metal to the weight of shot than formerly. Cannon, he says, once weighed but eighty times their shot, whereas in his time they weighed 200 times or more, culverins 300 times, and small ordnance 400 times. Sir James Turner repeats the statement, and there seems little doubt that a progressive and regular increase of metal went on through Elizabethan and early Stuart times. Indeed, the relation of gun weight to shot weight or calibre is probably the surest means of fixing the date of a doubtful list or doubtful specimen. Going back from Norton to Armada times, we find Lucar's rule is that cannons should weigh 161¾ times their shot, all natures of culverins 242⅔ times their shot, and periers 80⅞ times their stone shot. Sheriffe makes his cannon only 100 times, and his demi-cannon 133 times their shot. To his culverins, however, he gives 260 times their shot weight, and to demi-culverins 366 times, and still higher proportions for the smaller natures.

At first sight this would look as though the growth of metal was not constant, for Sheriffe's list is certainly earlier, and probably much earlier, than Bourne's and Lucar's treatises. Apart from the evidence of the light cannons, his specifications for the serpentine enable us to fix his period with certainty. Neither Bourne nor Lucar mention this piece at all, nor does any trace of it appear in Wynter's list as far back as 1569. It reappears in Norton's work, but there it is not, as Sheriffe makes it, a small 1½-inch piece, firing a ball of ⅓ of a pound, but a heavy 24-pounder bastard culverin. To find the serpentine placed as Sheriffe places it between falconets and robinets, we have to go back to the inventory of 1547, made on the accession of Edward VI. The occurrence of bastard cannon, basilisks, and two kinds of falcons in this inventory, as well as in Sheriffe's list, further suggest that the two were not very widely separated in date. The heavy weight of Sheriffe's culverins, therefore, may be due not so much to thickness of metal as to excessive length. In 1594, after the 9-foot culverins had been introduced into the navy, Carew gave

28 cwt. as the proper weight for a sea-service demi-culverin, though they sometimes differed 2 or 3 cwt. Now 3,400 lbs., the weight which Sheriffe gives his full-sized demi-culverin, is 30¼ cwt.; so that in 1594 a demi-culverin, though at the least 3 feet shorter than Sheriffe's, weighed practically the same, showing almost conclusively that Sheriffe's piece must have been less strongly fortified than the piece of 1594. Sheriffe's list, therefore, in the absence of any certainty as to its date, cannot be regarded as disproving Norton's statement of the progressive increase of metal.

Comparing the guns delivered to Drake in 1585 (*supra*, p. 28) with the weights prescribed by Bourne in 1587, the tendency to an increase of metal, at any rate in large guns, is very marked. Drake's demi-cannon, for instance, average 4,000 lbs. or 4,500 lbs. (according to whether the hundredweight is taken at 100 lbs. or 112 lbs.); while Bourne gives his demi-cannon 6,000 lbs. Again, Drake's culverins average 3,400–3,800 lbs.; Bourne's are 4,300 lbs. Drake's demi-culverins, however, average 2,400–2,700 lbs., while Bourne's are 2,200 lbs.; but the list is so full of misprints that this may be wrong. Still, in the smaller natures Bourne's guns range lighter than Drake's.

There exists another list which must be dealt with in this connection, especially as it is the one that is best known and most often quoted, and the one upon which the estimate of Elizabethan naval ordnance is most generally founded. This is the list given by Sir William Monson in his 'Naval Tracts.' Monson was a flag officer, who served with distinction throughout the later years of the war, and his commentaries upon it have always been accepted as of high authority. His knowledge of the earlier phases of the war, however, is now demonstrably defective. His criticisms on other admirals, so often quoted, are almost always founded on ignorance of the conditions which influenced their strategy, and, in the light of the artillery text-books and the ordnance reports, his list forces us to the conclusion that he was an officer who had made no more special study of gunnery than he had of recent naval history. His list is very incomplete. It ignores periers, mortars, and all B.L. pieces, as well as the new light 'curtals' and 'Drakes,' which had been introduced by the time he wrote. (See Boteler, Norton, and Roberts.) His gun weights are identical with

Sheriffe's, but his shot weights show a slight increase, in most cases only fractional. It would seem indeed as though Monson, in the absence of definite knowledge of the subject, used some old list that came to his hands, introducing such modifications as occurred to him, and in default of further evidence as to the source of his information his list should be received with great caution.

4. *Nomenclature.*—The first cause of obscurity from this source is the practice that obtained of reviving the names of obsolete pieces to confer them on new ones. We have seen this done in the case of the serpentine, which under Henry VIII. was a small gun of the culverin class, used for a field and wall piece. (See 'Archæologia,' li. p. 219.) They varied from a foot to three yards long, and possibly were the original type of culverin when that name, which at first meant a hand-gun, began to be applied to great ordnance.

A similar transference took place with the curtal or curtow. In the early lists of Henry VIII. we find double curtals, curtals, and demi-curtals. From the table of guns given by Tartaglia it appears that these curtals or cortaldi, as he calls them, were periers from 7 ft. 10½ in. to 8 ft. 5½ in. long, and from 8½ in. to 9¾ in. in calibre. At the end of Elizabeth's reign, or early in James I.'s, an attempt was made to get over the increasing weight of naval ordnance by the introduction of a short light gun, which was objected to like the early carronades, because of its 'boisterous reverse.' To this piece the old name of curtal was given. (See Boteler's 'Sea Dialogues,' p. 316.) Similarly Norton revives the obsolete name bombard for a small perier piece.

The second cause is that the size of guns indicated by a particular name was sometimes entirely altered. Thus the normal Elizabethan cannon was a 60-pounder, and the demi-cannon a 30-pounder; but in Norton, by a new system, they become respectively 48 and 24 pounders, while culverins and demi-culverins become 16 and 8 pounders.

The conclusion then is that in seeking to form a correct idea of the nature of any given piece of Tudor ordnance, careful regard must be had to the time at which it is mentioned, and that to rely upon any one list, especially when its date is unknown, is to fall infallibly into error.

II.—Mounting

Mounting of M.L. guns was very much as it was down to recent times. Bourne tells us that as early as his time they were all mounted on carriages with 'trucks' or wheels. From Boteler's description of the parts of a naval gun-carriage, we can form a fair idea of what they were under James I., when his treatise was written. 'The parts thereof,' he says, 'are the cheeks, which are the sides of the carriage; the bolts, which are the rings, whereto are fastened the breeches and tackles of the ordnance; the cap-squires, or rather cap-squares, which are broad pieces of iron belonging to either side of the carriage, and serve to lock over the trunnions of the piece, over which they are made fast in a iron pin having a forelock; the hooks, the forelocks, and the axle-tree which bears up the carriage; trucks, which are the wheels upon the axle-tree; the lince-pins, which keep on the trucks; the beds, which are those pieces of thick plank which lie next under the piece; the quoins, which are those pieces of wood made wedge-like, which serve to raise or lower the breech of the piece at pleasure; and the breechings, which are those ropes which lash fast the great guns to the ship's sides.' From the items of the indenture under which Drake drew his ordnance stores in 1585 (*supra*, p. 27), it will be seen that the carriages were similar to those of Boteler's time.

III.—Gunnery

1. *Loading.*—In the sea-service the powder charge was always made up into a cartridge of paper, fustian, or canvas.

2. *Sights.*—Guns were turned out from the foundries without any form of sights. The master-gunners were expected to do their disparting for themselves, and all the text-books from Bourne onwards contain clear instructions as to how this was to be correctly done. On many Elizabethan pieces the dispart marks can still be seen as the gunners cut them. It would seem therefore that an existing impression that Elizabethan guns had no disparts ('Defeat of the Armada,' I. p. xlix.) should be modified.

3. *Laying.*—Elevation was got by means of an instrument called a gunner's quadrant. This was like a carpenter's square with one arm much longer than the other. Between the arms was fixed a graduated quadrant, and from the angle of the square was hung a plumb-line. The long arm was inserted into the mouth of the piece with the other arm and the quadrant downwards. The plumb-line in this way indicated upon the graduated quadrant the angle of elevation. The method was no doubt clumsy, but probably quite as accurate as was necessary. Where the piece had to be depressed the plumb-line was shifted to the inner end of the quadrant. Later an improved instrument, known as the gunner's semicircle, was introduced with the plumb-line attached at the centre, so that it read in any position.

Lucar also gives directions for using these instruments as range-finders, and probably for the land-service they were actually so used and with some accuracy. For the sea-service they can have been but of little use, and it is clear that English officers at least soon came to believe in nothing beyond point-blank range. Special injunctions to this effect occur in a 'Form of fleet orders' dated March 16, 1618 ('Stowe MSS.' 426). Still Lucar gives rules for using the instruments from the tops of ships on the principle of a depression range-finder, and they may have been so employed for bombardments.

IV.—Secondary Armament

Natures.—From the ordnance reports given above it will be seen that the B.L. pieces in use for the sea-service at the beginning of the war were of six natures—portpieces, fowlers or stock fowlers, slings, bases, murderers, and muskets.

Portpieces, fowlers, and slings Norton classes as periers. Portpieces were $5\frac{1}{2}$-inch guns with a chamber of $3\frac{1}{2}$ inches, and were thus true periers, which apparently were almost always chambered to considerably less than their calibre. Their stone-shot, Norton says, were $5\frac{1}{4}$ inches in diameter, and weighed 9 lbs. By Lucar's table such a shot in 'Kentish stone' would be rather more than $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches in diameter, but of course the weight must have varied with

the kind of stone used. The barrel of a B.L. piece, or as an Elizabethan gunner would pedantically say, its 'concavity,' or 'vacant cylinder,' or 'soul,' was called the 'hall,' to distinguish it from the 'chamber,' the hall of a Tudor house being its principal room. A portpiece-hall was normally 8 calibres or under 4 feet in length, its chamber 16 inches.

Fowlers.—Neither the dimensions nor special characteristics of this piece are known. It was, however, mounted and used like a portpiece, and probably differed from it mainly in being a little smaller.

Slings.—In the older ordnance lists we find four natures of this gun — whole, three-quarter, half, and quarter slings. Whole slings were $2\frac{1}{2}$-inch pieces, with 22-inch chambers of the same calibre. They fired $3\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. of powder, against $3\frac{1}{4}$ lbs. of the portpiece, an iron shot of $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs., or a stone of $2\frac{1}{4}$. Slings seem to have gone out of fashion for the navy before the war began, but the whole sling survived as a ship-gun till Norton's time. It was nominally 12 calibres, or 2 feet 6 inches long.

Bases and Muskets were of the culverin class, and were light guns that probably superseded the smaller natures of slings.

The forms of base favoured in the English service were the great or double base and the Portugal base. The dimensions of the former are not known. The calibre of the Portugal base was $1\frac{1}{4}$ inch, and that of its chamber 1 inch. Norton classes it with the lesser culverins that were from 36 to 50 calibres long, and says its chamber was 16 inches long, its powder charge $\frac{1}{2}$ lb., its iron shot 6 oz., and its stone $1\frac{1}{2}$ inch. Roberts gives its length as $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet or $52\frac{1}{2}$ calibres.

Muskets were presumably identical with the Italian *Mosquetto di bracca* or *braga* of Cataneo, who wrote his 'Dell' essamini di bombardieri' about 1564. Little or nothing is known of them, but from the ordnance list (*ante*, p. 301) they seem to have been regarded as adequate substitutes for bases. Lucar, as we have seen, ranks them as the smallest kind of ordnance.

Murderers Norton classes with mortars, but says they were 8 calibres long. Their bore was sometimes square.

Breech mechanism.– This seems to have been much the

same for all natures, except perhaps the musket. Welded upon the 'hall' by means of cheek-pieces and enfolding it from trunnion ring to breech, was a kind of stout iron stirrup with a cradle on the under side. Into this the 'chamber' was placed and its chamfered fore end then wedged home into the breech by means of discs of wood and lead or leather driven in between the butt of the chamber and the base of the stirrup. This frame or stirrup was known as the 'tail.' To prevent the chamber jumping when the piece was discharged it was locked in its place by a wedge and forelock, slots being cut for the purpose on either side of the stirrup. But even this was not without danger. 'When a gunner,' writes Lucar, 'will give fire to a chamber-piece he ought not to stand upon that side of the piece where the wedge of iron is placed to lock the chamber in the piece, because the said wedge may through the discharge of the piece fly out and kill the gunner.'

Such a system seems clumsy enough to us, but it was not adopted without knowledge of others. Arsenal museums contain pieces with many forms of breech systems, but for some reason none of them seem ever to have come into practical use. Of one kind of B.L. perier, whose chamber screwed into the 'hall,' Norton tells us it went out of use 'by reason of the great trouble to screw it.' The plate in which this system is figured is missing from the British Museum copy of Norton's work, but it will be found in De Bry's edition of Diego Ufano (1614), on whose book Norton's is largely founded.

Mounting.—All these B.L. pieces seem to have been mounted on a non-recoil principle. The lighter natures such as slings and bases had a simple pivot mounting, or as Norton writes, 'they stand upon a forked prop or pintle upon the ends of which the trunnions rest.' Pieces so mounted, he says, had a 'stern-handle of iron' as a prolongation of the 'tail' 'to direct them by.' The mounting he describes for the heavier natures (portpieces and fowlers) is much more complicated, and not very easy to understand. Instead of trunnions the chase of the piece had on either side two square tenons, which were morticed into the block or carriage, so that the piece was held fast in it. When the piece was in firing position the muzzle or

cornice 'lay upon the edge of the ship's port, and was triced up with a rope fastened about the muzzle.' Two trestle legs were 'morticed before under the block of the carriage.' The tail was supported by an upright post, upon which it worked up and down in a 'mortice' or slot by means of a 'shiver' or pulley-wheel. In the upright post were a number of holes, so that by means of a pin the piece could be held at any elevation required. What was the use of the trestle legs, or how the tail could work in an upright slot when the muzzle was fired is not clear.

Of the method of mounting a 'murderer' nothing seems to have survived; but in the Venice Arsenal is a model of seventeenth century mounting for an *archibusone da cavaletto*, which was probably in the nature of the 'musket.' It is in the form of a shoulder-gun, having the forward end of the stock carried by a forked pintel. This is pivoted in the top of an upright post. From the front of the trigger guard is an iron rod, connecting with a wooden arm that hinges upon a short projection from the post. Hinged upon this arm is another with holes at intervals, which works through a slot in the post, and can be fixed there in any position by an iron pin.

Purpose of the Secondary Armament.—In the sea-service all the B.L. guns were primarily designed for resisting boarders, for preparing an enemy's ship for boarding, or for clearing your own decks when entered. If you see the enemy is preparing to board, Bourne advises you 'to give level on the scuttles, where the men must come up, with fowlers, slings, and bases, for with these you shall be sure to do most good. If you do mean to enter him, then give level with your fowlers and port-pieces where you do see his chiefest fight of his ship is, and especially be sure to have them charged, and to shoot them off at the first boarding, for then you are sure to speed. And furthermore mark where his men have most recourse, and there discharge your fowlers and bases.' Sir Richard Hawkins at the end of the reign laments the growing disuse of these guns, and specially commends them. 'I hold nothing more convenient in ships of war,' he writes, 'than fowlers and great bases in the cage-works and murderers in the cobridge-heads, for that their execution and speedy charging and discharging

is of great moment.' Monson is equally in their favour. 'A murderer or fowler,' he writes, 'being shot out of their own ship, laden with dice-shot, will scour the deck of an enemy and not suffer the head of a man to appear,' and he deplores the growing fashion for flush-decked and 'race' ships, because no place was left for the secondary armament. It is probably in this remark that we see the principal cause of the disappearance of these guns from the navy.

V.—Projectiles

The ordinary forms of projectiles in use were round shot, generally of iron but also of lead and stone, bar and chain shot, and various man-killing kinds, such as hail-shot (probably like our buck-shot), dice-shot, murdering-shot, and others. A favourite method of using them was in a 'carcase,' so that their effect was similar to that of our canister and case.

Besides these there were innumerable forms of 'fire-works,' in the use and manufacture of which the English seem to have had special skill. Most of them were in the nature of 'wild-fire' or inextinguishable 'Greek-fire,' made into forms which could be discharged from great ordnance, or else from 'trombs' or 'trunks,' a kind of hand rocket-tube made of wood and hooped with iron, but no trace of their use in the English navy occurs at this time. Lucar and other authorities give a great variety of recipes for these incendiary projectiles, as well as instructions for making both common and shrapnel shell and shells for illuminating enemies' works; but how far they were used is uncertain. Shell, at any rate, does not appear to have been admitted into ordinary use for the sea-service, and was probably hardly beyond the experimental stage.

From the above considerations we gather that English gunnery in Elizabethan times was far more formidable and scientific than has been supposed, and can understand its terrible effect upon the Cadiz galleys. Although, as Bourne tells us, the English had learned all they knew about gunnery from the Dutch and Flemings as late as Henry VIII.'s time, and were still inferior to Italians, French, and Spaniards in their knowledge of the art, yet by

the outbreak of the war they had already learned to regard themselves as the best naval gunners in Europe. Englishmen, says Bourne, were accounted good gunners 'because they were handy and without fear about their ordnance,' and again, because 'they are handsome about their ordnance in ships on the sea,' &c.

APPENDIX B

Galleons, Barks, and Pinnaces

Scarcely any writer has been able to approach the subject of the Armada without contrasting the light English vessels with the 'clumsy,' or 'cumbrous,' or 'unwieldy' galleons of Spain. An idea seems consequently to have grown up that the galleon was essentially Spanish, and essentially cumbrous. It was neither the one nor the other. It is capable of demonstration that Spain was probably the last of the great maritime nations to adopt the galleon, and its essential structural feature was that it was on finer lines and in every way smarter than the ordinary ship.

Although with us the word never became current in ordinary naval parlance, the thing was perfectly well understood. Broadly speaking, it was a vessel built specially for war as distinguished from the adapted merchantman. The type had been introduced into the English service by Henry VIII. long before there is any trace of it in Spain, and his capital ships were in consequence classed as 'great ships' and 'galleasses' or 'galleys.' For both in France and England it was some time before the new naval nomenclature was settled, and the new type was called almost indifferently 'galleon,' 'galleasse,' 'galley,' and 'galleot.' About the nature and advantages of the vessel there was no doubt whatever, and by the outbreak of the Spanish war all, or nearly all, men-of-war in England were galleons, and they are thus invariably described by foreigners.

But although English seamen never took kindly to the word, and continued to confuse 'galleasse' and 'galleon' in describing foreign vessels, for the English shipwrights the words soon attained definite technical significations, and in official building programmes, after the middle of

Elizabeth's reign, they never fail to appear. In the absence of any complete treatise on the art and mystery of naval construction, it is difficult to ascertain exactly what the terms meant for experts; but it is certain that one feature of the 'galleon' was a length of three times its beam, as distinguished from the ordinary merchantman, which was only twice its beam, the finer and newer class of merchantmen being rather longer. The 'galleasse,' as understood in the English naval yards, was still longer than the 'galleon.' A 'bastard galleasse' was the term chosen to express a vessel that was a compromise between a 'galleon' and a 'galleasse.' The galleon seems also to have been flush-decked like a galley, but this was probably not regarded at first as essential. They also probably had less free-board and lower superstructures. The 'galleasse' certainly had, and in these respects went beyond the galleon. In these days we should have invented new words for the new types, such as our 'battle-ship,' 'cruiser,' &c.; but then, like the gun-founders, the shipwrights were content with old names, and boldly annexed them to express things quite different from what they signified in other times or other places.

It was in Italy that the galleon had its origin, where the type was the outcome of a demand for a sailing war-vessel which, while of higher capacity and sea-endurance than the galley, could act with galleys, and not be quite helpless in calms and confined waters nor incapable of conforming to the elaborate galley formations in vogue. Jal in his 'Glossaire Nautique,' and Guglielmotti in his 'Marina Pontificia,' have collected authorities which make the point clear. Simoneta, in describing the galleons used on the Po in 1447, says, 'Sunt autem galeones triremibus breviores sed latiores et sublimiores'—that is, 'Galleons are shorter than galleys, but of broader beam and higher free-board.' He also says that they had a superstructure fore and aft and were sailing vessels. In 1495 a Frenchman, Du Parc, describes some galleons in the service of Charles VIII. as 'a kind of vessel bearing some resemblance to a small merchant ship or to a high and broad galley, which uses sails and sometimes oars.' In 1526 another Frenchman, Lazare Baïf, writes of them, 'Forma erat mixta ex nave oneraria et longa triremi,' that is,

they were a compromise between the 'round' or merchant ship and the 'long' or war ship. He calls them not galleons, but galleasses. In 1593 William Borough, Controller of the Navy, gives the typical English galleon as a vessel with a length of three times its beam, and a depth in hold of two-fifths its beam. In 1607 Crescentio gives the same proportions as the ideal Italian form. In 1614 Pantero-Pantera says small galleons had two decks and large ones three, and that all of them were flush-decked. The same authority and a number of later ones make it quite clear that the galleon was a compromise between the galley and the round ship, and that its special advantage was that it was more weatherly and faster than the older type of war-ship. So much was this the case that originally all galleons had auxiliary oar propulsion. Henry VIII., who built his 'galleasses' as purely sailing vessels, ordered the smaller ones to be fitted with oars after his experience of the action at Spithead in 1545. The smallest class of galleons, which came to be generally known in the English service as frigates, long retained their oars, and traces of the compromise may be said to have lingered down to living memory in our small corvettes and sloops, which were fitted with sweeps.

The parent of the English form of galleon, or, at least, a strong influence upon it, must have been the 'galéa' or 'galeazza di mercantia,' that is, the merchant galley or galleasse in which the trade between Venice and London was conducted. This vessel is fully described by Coronelli in his 'Atlante Veneto.' He calls it the 'galéa' or 'galleazza di Londra,' and says it was generally upon the lines of a war-galleasse, but with a beam of $3\frac{3}{5}$ of its length; that in order to enable it to work in and out of confined waters and rivers it was furnished with oars, but only as an auxiliary means of movement; and that it was rigged with three masts, the fore mast carrying square sails and the main and mizzen lateens.

Though galleons were thus the ordinary type of war-ship in the English navy, they ceased to afford a class name after the reign of Henry VIII. Under Edward VI. Henry's great ships and galleons are classed simply as 'ships' and his pinnaces and row-barges as 'pinnaces,' and this system continued till the first year of Elizabeth,

when we have a new classification into 'ships,' 'barks,' and 'pinnaces.' The new class of 'barks,' however, never became very well defined. Sometimes it includes only small ships, sometimes also the larger pinnaces, and sometimes it is ignored altogether. The characteristics of a 'bark' are quite unascertainable, and, indeed, can never have been very clear; but generally the class seems to have been regarded as including vessels of over 50 tons and under 150. Still even this is not quite constant. Naval nomenclature has always inclined to be restless and indefinite, and Elizabeth's time was no exception to the rule. Broadly speaking, however, the practice seems to have been with sailors to call all sailing vessels that were fit to take their place in the line of battle 'ships,' while shipwrights called them 'ships,' 'galleons,' or 'galleasses,' according to their design. 'Barks' included all sailing vessels of lower degree, and 'pinnaces' all vessels specially constructed for oar propulsion as well as for sailing.

Innumerable variations of design gave rise to numbers of other names, and left the lines between the classes very indeterminate. Thus the brigantine, which was a Mediterranean type of small galley, without slaves and rowed by its fighting crew, appears sometimes to have been regarded as a bark and sometimes as a pinnace, but never as a galley; while we find vessels normally called pinnaces appearing indifferently as galleots, galleys, frigates, shallops, or long-boats. In an order made by the Officers of the Navy in 1586, the Queen's vessels are specified as her 'ships, as well as barks, pinnaces, brigandines, and frigates' (S.P. Dom. clxxxvi. 44), while at the same time the shipwrights were calling them galleons, barks, and pinnaces, and naval writers ships and pinnaces.

The apparent confusion arose from two causes—one, the tendency to apply well-known names to new forms of pinnaces; the other, the fact that many of the pinnaces in use by privateers were foreign vessels that had been made prize. For the purpose of studying naval tactics all these variations of type may be discarded as comparatively small questions of naval construction. All that is necessary is to see clearly whether a vessel had oar propulsion or not, whether, in fact, it was a ship or a pinnace. Into one of these two classes every

Elizabethan vessel would fall, whether or not it was also a galleon or a bark. If this be borne in mind the only possibility of confusion that can arise is in mistaking first and second class pinnaces; for pinnaces were either decked or undecked. The former were units of a fleet, the latter were only ship's boats. They corresponded, in fact, to the first and second class torpedo boats of the present time; and the duties respectively assigned to them, both in action and out of it, were entirely of a corresponding nature.

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